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UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

A DIALECTOLOGICAL SURVEY

OF

NORTHERN AND CENTRAL KURDISH

Ph.D. Thesis

submitted by

D.N. MacKenzie

1957

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A.



25/2/52

This work comprises a survey of the Kurdish dialects spoken in the following northern areas, or by the following tribes\*, of present-day Iraq : Sulaimaniya, Wärmāwa, Bingird, Piždar, Arbīl, Rawandiz, Xōšnāw\*, Sūrčī\*, Akra, Amadiya, Barwārī-Žōr, Gullī\*, and Zakho. With the sole exception of Sulaimani Kurdish none of these dialects has previously been described individually. A descriptive sketch of the Phonology, Morphology and Syntax of the dialects is therefore given, based on the evidence of the linguistic material recorded by the writer in 1954 - 5. Where appropriate, reference is also made to other descriptions of Kurdish dialects, particularly that of the Mukrī dialect by Oskar Mann. Certain phonetic and morphological features distinguishing the various dialects are then summarized and on the basis of this summary a division of the dialects into main, viz. Northern and Central, and subsidiary groups is suggested.

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## PREFACE

My study of Kurdish began in 1951 under the guidance of Mr. C.J. Edmonds and it is a pleasure to record my gratitude to him, in the first place for his exposition of the Sulaimani dialect and again for his help and encouragement at all times.

The award of a most generous Studentship, 1953 - 5, by the Committee for Studentships in Foreign Languages and Cultures of H.M. Treasury made it possible to visit the Kurdish-speaking areas of Iraq and to record new linguistic material. In Iraq my work was lightened by the liberal help and interest of so many Kurds, from ploughboy to Cabinet Minister, that to acknowledge all here would be impossible. I must, however, express my particular thanks to Messrs. Fuad Rashid Bakr and Hasan Husayn of Sulaimaniya and Hashim Haji Hasan of Akra for their continued interest and cooperation.

It was not, unfortunately, possible to visit Turkish Kurdistan, as desired. Excellent dialect material from this area, however, collected by Oskar Mann, is preserved in the possession of the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. I am particularly grateful to the Directors of both the Academy at Mainz and the Oriental Institute of Berlin for

placing this MS material freely at my disposal with a view to publication.

It remains only for me to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to the supervisor of my studies, Professor W.B. Henning. His advice and criticism, so generously offered during the preparation of this survey, have been of inestimable value to me.

D.N.M.

May 1957

# ABBREVIATIONS

Ak. *	Akra	( <u>town</u> & district of Mosul province).
Am. *	Amadiya	( <u>town</u> & district of Mosul province).
Arb. *	Arbil	(town, <u>district</u> & province).
Bad.	Bādīnān	(Kurdish area of Mosul province, comprising Ak., Am., Dhk., Shn., Zeb., Zx.).
Bar. *	Barwārī-Žôr	( <u>sub-district</u> of Am. district).
Bin. *	Bingird	(village & <u>sub-district</u> of Piž. district).
Bot.	Bo(h)tan	(area S. of Lake Van, E. Turkey).
BX. **	Bedir-Xan,	op. cit., v. Bibliography, representing normalized Bot. and dialects west thereof.
Dhk.	Dohuk	( <u>town</u> & <u>district</u> of Mosul province).
E.	Edmonds,	MS notes, representing normalized Sul.
Gul. *	Gullī	(tribe & <u>sub-district</u> of Zx. district).
Hak.	Hakārī	(province of S.E. Turkey).
Hal.	Halabja	( <u>town</u> & <u>district</u> of Sul. province).
Kd.	Kurdish	
Muk. **	Mukrī	(tribe S. of Lake Urmiya, N.W. Iran) from Mann, op. cit., v. Bibliography.
Piž. *	Piždar	( <u>sub-district</u> & district of Sul. province).
QK. **	Qānātē Kurdō	(Kurdoev, K.K.) op. cit., v. Bibliography, representing normalized Rwn.
Rdz. *	Rawandiz	( <u>town</u> & <u>district</u> of Arb. province).
Rwn.	Erevan	(city, Armenian SSR).
Shn.	Shaikhan	( <u>town</u> & <u>district</u> of Mosul province, predominantly Yazīdī).



Sor.	Sōrān	(Kurdish area of Arb. province & Piž. district, comprising Bin., Piž., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.).
Sul.*	Sulaimaniya	(town, <u>district</u> & province).
Sur.*	Sūrčī	( <u>tribe</u> in Ak. & Rdz. districts).
War.*	Wārmāwa	( <u>sub-district</u> of Hal. district).
Xoš.*	Xōšnāw	( <u>tribe</u> S. of Rdz. town).
Zeb.	Zēbārī	( <u>tribe</u> in Ak. district).
Zx.*	Zakho	( <u>town</u> & district of Mosul province).

\* numbers following these abbreviations indicate the paragraph of the recorded texts; a hyphen -- indicates "from MS notes".

\*\* numbers following these abbreviations indicate  
 BX - page of Bedir-Xan, Langue Kurde, v. Bibliography.  
 QK - page of Kurdoev, Grāmātikā zimānē Kurdī, v. Bibl.  
 Muk. - page & line of texts, or § paragraph of Gram. Skizze, of Mann, Mundart der Mukri-Kurden, v. Bibl.

Ø indicates a morpheme "zero".

- finally, following a form, indicates "followed by an enclitic".

( ) indicates "optional form".

/ separates "alternative forms".

// in Phonology, encloses "phonemic spelling".

\* precedes a hypothetical form.

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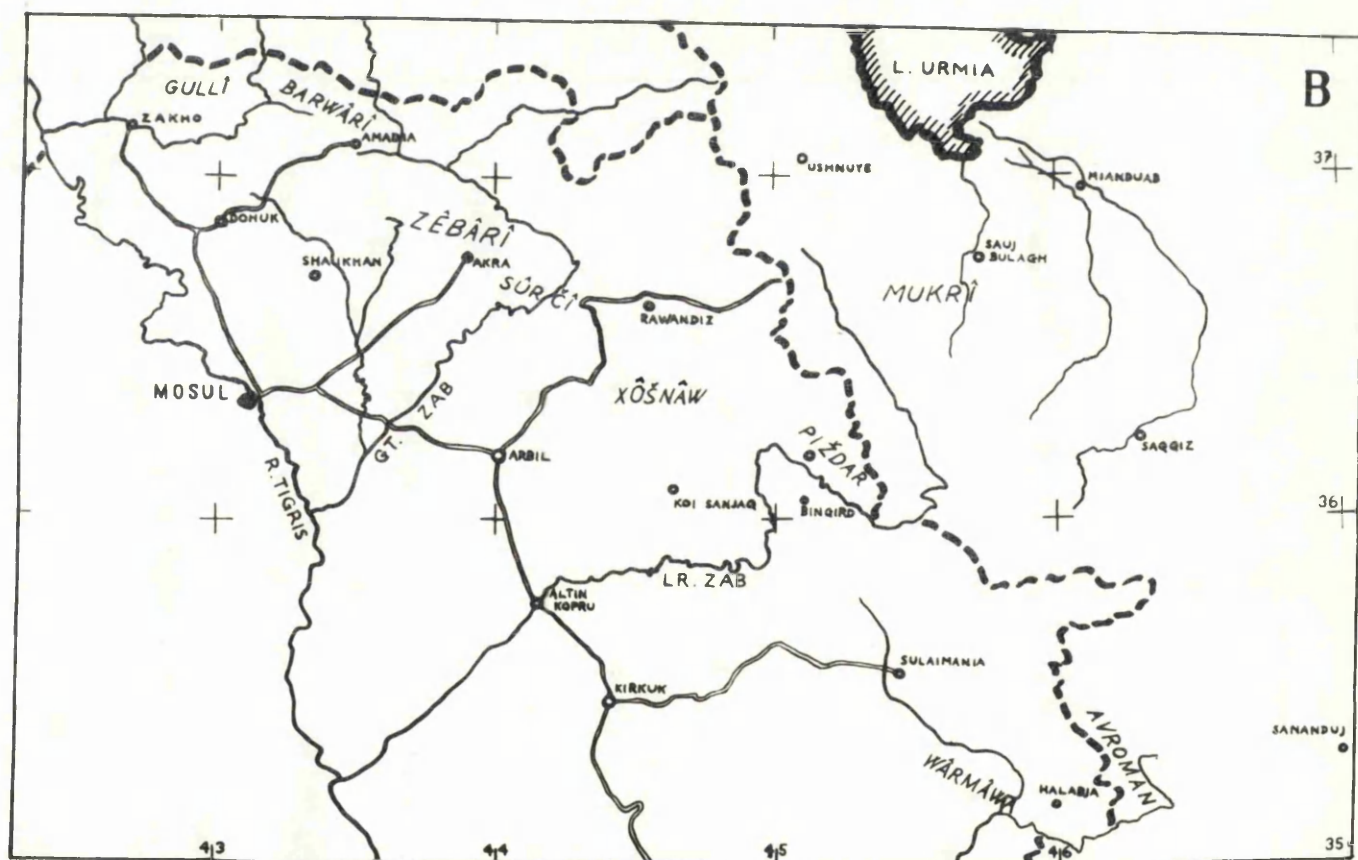
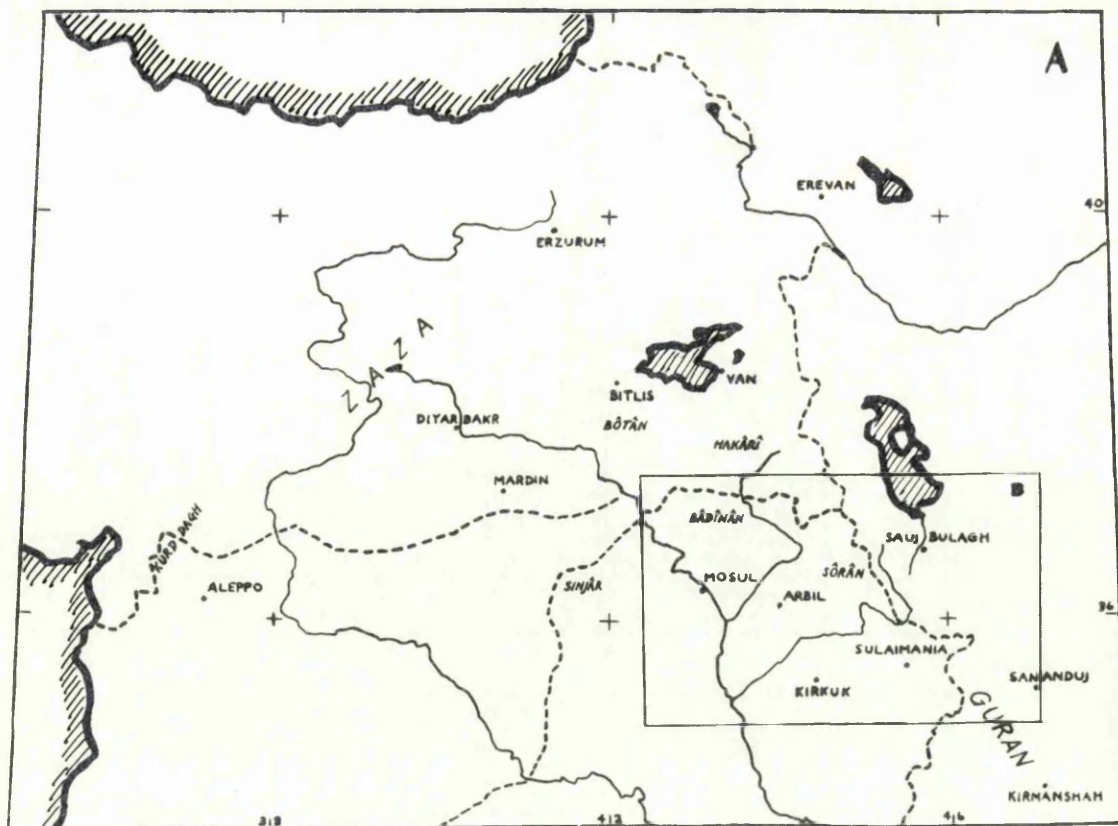
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## INTRODUCTION

The survey of Kurdish dialects which follows is based primarily on material gathered during a visit to Iraqi Kurdistan in 1954 - 5. It was originally intended to spend an equal period of time in the Kurdish-speaking areas of Turkey and Iraq. In the event, permission not being forthcoming from the Turkish authorities, some ten months were spent in Northern Iraq, between Halabja and Zakho (Map B). From the towns of Sulaimaniya and Akra as bases visits were made to the centres of as many dialect areas as could profitably be covered in the time available.

Where possible the linguistic notes made were supported by connected texts, either taken down directly from dictation or recorded on magnetized tape and then transcribed. Inevitably these texts are of unequal value, according both to the authors and the possibility of checking them. However, of the texts transcribed without the assistance of the authors those from Barwārī-Žôr are the only ones presented about which any serious doubt remains.

Throughout the history of Kurdish dialect studies it has been notoriously difficult to find trustworthy informants, even in situ. Thus Chodzko's informant in Paris was an aristocrat better acquainted with Turkish and Persian than with his mother tongue; Prym and Socin obtained most of their Kurdish texts from an Aramaic-speaking Christian and



an itinerant Jewish story-teller; Makas's Mardīnī Kurd, who had travelled for years in Eastern Europe, was telling stories he had heard twenty years before; even in recent years the authors of the Kurdoev - Cukerman texts were refugees who had arrived in the Caucasus by stages from various parts of Turkey.

The same difficulty was encountered in Iraq in certain cases. Thus the author of the main Bingirdī text (Bin.314 - 379), a man of about 25 years of age, had lived for about one year in Piždar; the Kōšnāw speaker, some 40 years old, had worked for a dozen years in cosmopolitan Arbīl; the Sūrčī speaker, well past his fiftieth year, had lived for the past two years on the outskirts of Akra; the 40 year old Gullī informant had lived for about ten years in Zakho.

A new factor disturbing dialectal purity is the spread of the "official" Sulaimani dialect throughout its home province and neighbouring Arbīl. Thus the Wārnāwa (War.188 - 207), Bingird (Bin.299 - 313) and Arbīl speakers had all either attended school or done their military service and adopted certain Sulaimani forms as a result. In the main, however, the pure dialect forms are clearly discernible in all the texts.

As the majority of the dialects treated here have not been recorded or described hitherto the material is presented in the form of a descriptive grammatical sketch. On the basis of this description the features distinguishing the

different dialects are then summarized. In the description the dialects are divided into two ad hoc groups purely for convenience. Not unnaturally, however, this division will be found to coincide in general with the grouping into Northern and Central dialects adopted in the summary. In the two groups the two dialects best represented, viz. Sulaimani and Akra, are taken as the basis of the description, the other dialects being described only insofar as they differ from these. Where possible the dialects have been quoted in the following, approximately geographical, order :

A. Sulaimani	B. (Sūrčī)
Wārmāwa	Akra
Bingird	Amadiya
Piždar	Barwārī-Žōr
Mukrī	Gullī
Arbil	Zakho
Rawandiz	(Shaikhan)
Xōšnāw	

Throughout, the words "the ... dialect(s) alone", or the like, naturally imply "alone of those here studied".

+                    +                    +

Of previous descriptions of these and neighbouring dialects the following, which have appeared within the last hundred years, alone merit attention.

For the Sulaimani dialect the first sketch is that of

Chodzko. It is inaccurate in a number of details, some of them hard to explain (e.g. رنى reni 'fox', for ṙēwī), but suffers most from the deficiencies of the informant. His frequent, but not constant, pronunciation of /r/ for /ṙ/ might be explained as an aristocratic peculiarity (cf. § 39), or as a non-Sulaimani form, hardly as an older dialect form.

Both the grammars of Soane give a highly subjective description of the language. Many forms given are divorced from reality (e.g. the paradigms of intransitive verbs in the past tenses, conjugated here as if transitive) and there would be little point in making reference to these details merely to correct them. Even the vocabulary is suspect, in that a great deal of it has been taken uncritically from disparate sources (e.g. the ghost-word purs 'pig', cf. Benveniste, BSL.45.88).

Edmonds's description, unfortunately not yet in print, was made available to me by the author as an invaluable introduction to the study of Kurdish. My description of Sulaimani, although it may differ in the manner of presentation, is essentially the same as that of Mr. Edmonds. Only where he intentionally errs, from the point of view of dialect purity, in favour of normalization has it been necessary to note the divergence.

Mann's grammatical sketch of the Mukrī dialect is quoted throughout for the sake of comparison with the



neighbouring Sōrānī dialects. Any disagreement with Mann is specifically noted. Fossum's grammar of the same dialect, with its attachment to the written form, adds nothing to Mann's description.

Of the Bādīnānī dialects Jardine's short grammar gives a quite accurate basic description. Covering as it does, however, some half-dozen dialects it is not a suitable source for our purposes. Beidar's grammar of the Zakho and neighbouring dialects is entertaining but useless. Indeed, without a good knowledge of the dialect it is almost impossible to interpret the "transliterated" texts given.

Rhea's sketch of the Hakārī dialect is accurate but, although nowhere stated, it bears unmistakable signs of representing two or more dialects, presumably those of the Gawar and Urmiya areas in the first place (e.g. "kyautin or kautin or kaftin, v. fall ; khīn or khon (i.e. xy:n / xu:n), n. blood").

There remain the more derivative descriptions of Kurdish in Justi's grammar and Socin's sketch in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*. Both scholars were severely limited by the information at their disposal. For the dialects covered here only Chodzko's material, discussed above, was available.

Apart from grammatical descriptions there are two sets of texts which can be quoted. The texts from Nahrī, Southern Hakārī, published by M. Nikitine, being in the Arabic

script, give a good idea of recent indigenous "phonemic theory". At the same time they suffer from the limitations of the script and to some extent require interpretation. They can, therefore, only be quoted in cases of certainty.

The Kurdish Songs of Dr. Mokri are mainly important for the information they provide concerning the lesser-known dialects of Southern, Persian, Kurdistan. Nevertheless the few Sulaimani and Mukrī songs given provide useful corroborative evidence.

As it was impossible to visit Eastern Turkey no new material could be obtained concerning the Kurdish dialects of the area. Thus not all the "Northern dialects" of the title could be treated at first hand. While there is quite a large number of published Kurdish texts from this area -- those of Dufresne (JA. 1910), Egiazarov (Tiflis, 1891), Hadank, Jaba, Kurdoev - Cukerman, Le Coq, Lerch, Lescot, Makas, Prym - Socin, &c. -- they are extremely unequal in a number of particulars and, above all, lack uniformity. To have included a description of them, with the necessary apparatus criticus, would have enlarged this survey disproportionately.

Fortunately valuable evidence relating to these dialects has recently come to light. The material collected by Oskar Mann in the course of his 1906 - 7 journey from Aleppo to Mosul, via Urfa, Siverek, Diyarbekir, Bitlis, Jazira and Dohuk, has mostly survived the upheavals of the Second World



War and is now divided between the Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, and the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. This material provides a valuable unifying link between these Kurdish texts from Turkey and, moreover, records the dialects as they were before the displacement of Kurdish tribes which followed the First World War. The publication of Mann's material will provide the opportunity to reassess the texts mentioned above.

Apart from the dialect texts quoted there have recently appeared two indigenous grammars of northern Kurdish, those of Bedir-Xan and Kurdoev. Both are normalized and as such do not provide a good source of information for a dialect study. However, they are cited parenthetically in the description of the Bādīnānī dialects when they give features common to the Kurdish dialects of Turkey and the Caucasus but contrasting with Bādīnānī.

The studies of Cukerman, Miller and Sokolova are highly specialized and largely deal with dialects beyond the scope of this survey. The same can be said of Barr's description of Andreas's Southern Kurdish texts. These latter have been expressly excluded from this survey because of the lack of sufficient new evidence. This is now provided, however, by Mann's MS material and will also be the subject of later work.

## PART I - PHONOLOGY

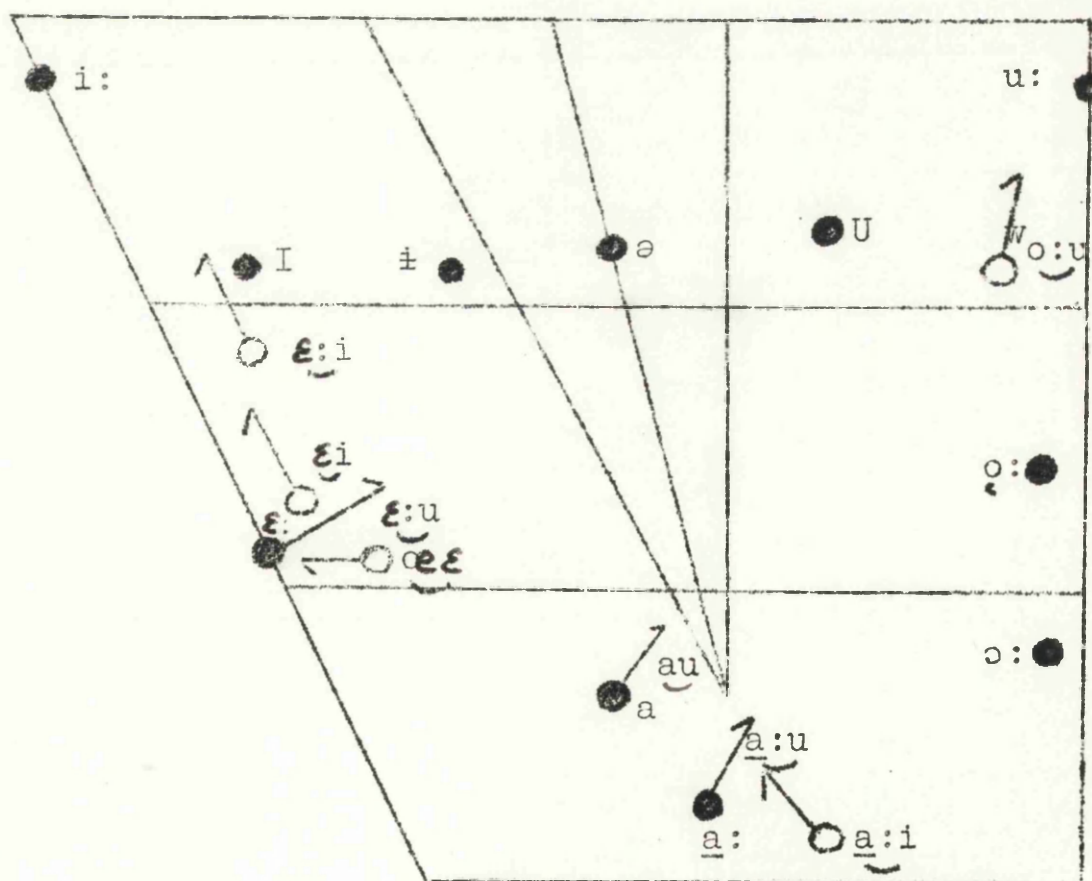
Sulaimaniya Dialect. (Kd. Slaymānī).

Vowels.

§ 1. In the Sul. dialect the following simple vowels occur : (IPA) i, I, ɪ, ɛ, œ, a, a, ɔ, o, U, u, ə.

There are two degrees of length. i:, ɛ:, a:, ɔ:, o: and u: are always long. I, ɪ, a, U and ə are always short. œ never appears independently but always in conjunction with ɛ forming the diphthong œɛ. This has the length of a short diphthong (v. § 13).

§ 2.



§ 3. i: is invariably a very close, front vowel.

Phonemically it can be represented /ɪ/. Cf. §§ 18.b, 20.

§ 4. (a) ɨ is a half-close, front-central vowel, varying somewhat in position according to the following consonant.<sup>1)</sup> It never occurs at the beginning of a syllable or after the semi-vowel /y/.

++ Fn. The sole recorded exception to this is the word

'ɨndʒa:, more commonly 'ndʒa:, /inʒā/ 'then'.

(b) I is a half-close, front vowel. It only appears at the beginning of a syllable<sup>1)</sup> and in contact with the semi-vowel /y/. In initial position it often alternates with /ɪ/.

++ Fn. The sole recorded exception to this is the word

/linʒ/ 'sticky', which has a clear front vowel lIndʒ.

(c) Since ɨ and I never appear in the same phonetic context they may be considered as combinatory variants of the phoneme /i/. Cf. § 10.

Note. An /i/ in unstressed position between two consonants is generally not realized, e.g. /či bikam ?/ 'tʃɨbk'am,

/birdinawa/ 'bɨɸdnawa, /dasina/ 'dasma

§ 5. ɛ: is a half-open, front vowel, except in the diphthong ɛ:i (q.v. § 14) when it approaches a half-close, front e:. In initial position, following another vowel and occasionally in other positions a fleeting anticipatory raising of the tongue gives jɛ:, jɛ:i. A preceding consonant may be palatalized.

§ 6. (a) œ appears only in conjunction with ɛ, i.e. in a





lip-rounding giving wo:u.

(b) o: is a half-open, back vowel. It appears only before /r, ʀ/.

(c) o:, o: and o: never occur in the same phonetic context and may be considered as allophones of the phoneme /ɔ/.

§ 10. U is invariably a half-close, back-central vowel. Phoneme /u/.

Following the semi-vowel /w/ or in proximity to a back vowel the phoneme /i/ is often realized as U, e.g.

a:'wiŋ > a:'wUŋ /əwiŋ/ 'dew'  
'bɪrɔ: > 'bUɔ: /biʀɔ/ 'go !'

§ 11. u: is invariably a close, back vowel. Phoneme /u/.

§ 12. e is invariably a half-close, central vowel. It is a realization of the phoneme /ɛ/ (q.v. § 32). Cf. e, § 23.

### Diphthongs.

§ 13. There are four classes of diphthongs in the Sul. dialect, namely those ending in :

(a) a close, front vowel i; ɛ:i, œɛi, ɛi, a:i, o:i, and u:i,

(b) a close, back vowel u; i:u, ɛ:u, œɛu, au, a:u, and o:u,

(c) a half-close, front-central vowel ɛ; i:ɛ, ɛ:ɛ, aɛ, a:ɛ, o:ɛ, and u:ɛ,

(d) a half-close, central vowel e; aɛ, a:e.

There are two degrees of length, corresponding to the

length of the first vowel of the diphthong. Thus i:u, ɛ:u, œɛu, a:i, u:i &c. are long, au, aɪ, aə are short diphthongs.

§ 14. Class (a). When followed by another vowel the syllabic character of these diphthongs is destroyed, e.g.

'la:i mɪn, but 'la:ɜ:k

Thus they cannot be regarded as single phonemes.

ɛi, a:i &c. are to be clearly distinguished from  
ɛ'i:, a:'i: &c., e.g.

'mɛi 'wine' : mɛ'i: 'it congealed'  
'ma:in 'we stayed': mɑ:'i:n 'mare'

Thus the second vowel of the diphthong cannot conveniently be regarded as a realization of the phoneme /ɪ/. It must rather be considered as a realization of the semi-vowel /y/. Class (a) is therefore reducible to the groups /ɛy (v. § 5), ɔy, ay (v. § 7), āy (v. § 8), ɔy, and ūy/.

§ 15. Class (b). As with class (a) a following vowel destroys the syllabic character of these diphthongs, e.g.

'a:u, but 'a:wɛ:k

On the analogy of class (a) it is convenient to consider these diphthongs as phoneme groups of which the second member is a realization of /w/. Thus /ɪw, ɛw, ɔw, aw, āw, and ɔw (v. § 9.a)/.

§ 16. Class (c). These diphthongs occur only at the end of a syllable (cf. § 31). There can, therefore, be no confusion between the final, front-central vowel of the diphthong, ɪ, and the initial, front realization, ɪ, of the phoneme /ɪ/.

Thus they may be regarded as phoneme groups of which the second element is a realization of /i/. Thus /i, ēi, ai, āi, ōi, and ūi/.

§ 17. The vowel e is a realization of the phoneme /d/ (q.v. § 32). The diphthongs of class (d) therefore represent /ad, ād/.

### Vowel groups.

§ 18. (a) A feature of the Sul. dialect is the frequency of uninterrupted vowel groups of a secondary nature, e.g.

lau daʃt'a'a:, 'wa: ak'xi, mɪn u: 'au,  
la 'pa:ɣawa a,ʒɛ:m, sta:'Iʃ,  
 even bɪk'am

With the presence of a semi-vowel long groups of continuants may arise, e.g.

'lɛ:jaəa:, 'lɛ:jaa: /lɛy a(d)ā/  
nɛ:ɹi:naɪ a'əa:tɛ: /nɛrɪnai adātə/  
-----

Such groups may, however, be contracted, e.g.

/ba nāw am šārā < šāraā/

(b) When i, j are followed by ɛ, particularly between two consonants, the group i:ɛ > jɛ tends to be reduced to ɛ: /ē/ (q.v. § 5), e.g.

k'Uɹsi:ɛ'k'a > k'Uɹsɛ:'k'a /kursɪaka > kursēka/  
az'no:jɛwa > az'no:ɛ:wa /ažnōyawa > ažnōēwa/  
jɛ'wa:ʃ > hɛ:'wa:ʃ /yawāš > hēwāš/  
-----

Conversely unstressed /ē/, especially following /ā/,

is often realized as /ya/, e.g.

<u>'na:ɛ:m</u>	>	<u>'na:jɛm</u>	/nāēm > nāyam/
<u>'naəa:ɛ:</u>	>	<u>'na:jɛ</u>	/nadāē > nāya/ (cf. § 33)
<u>tʃa:wi:</u>		<u>'daɾjɛ</u>	/čāwī dar ē > dar ya /

When u, w are followed by a the group tends, particularly between two consonants, to be reduced to o: /ō/ (§ 9), e.g.

<u>o:ɾdu:a'k'a</u>	>	<u>o:ɾdɔ:'k'a</u>	/ōrdūaka > ōrdōka/
<u>ha:'t'u:ata</u>	>	<u>ha:'t'ɔ:ta</u>	/hātūata > hātōta/
Ar. kull waǰh > /klōǰa/			

(c) The groups /īy, ūw/ are impossible in final position or between consonants. Thus suffix or enclitic /-ī (-y), -ū (-w)/ are not realized after /ī, ū/ respectively, e.g.

/čīt	<	*čī + -īt/
/yārī akird	<	*yārī + -ī/
/pīrsī	<	*pīrsī + -ī/
/bū, čū	<	*bū-, čū- + -ū/

#### Semi-vowels.

§ 19. The Sul. dialect has three semi-vowels, IPA j, w, ɐ.

§ 20. j is a palatal (front) frictionless continuant.

Normally it represents a phoneme /y/. Preceding another vowel, however, it may be a realization of /ī/ (§ 3), e.g.

<u>xist'ja ba:'xaɾi:</u>	/xistīa bāxaɾī/
<u>la ba:waʃja:jati:</u>	/la bāwašīāyati/

In certain positions j may be a realization of the phoneme /d/ (v. § 32).



Between vowels /y/ is sometimes realized very shortly, e.g.

a:<sup>j</sup><sub>ξ</sub> /-āya-/ , and between /ē..ā/ not at all, e.g.

'l<sub>ξ</sub>:a:n /lēyān/

§ 21. w is a bilabial (back) frictionless continuant. When followed by a front vowel or the semi-vowel /y/ there is a slight fronting of the tongue w̄ > ȳ. Phoneme /w/.

Preceding another vowel it may be a realization of /ū/ (§ 11), e.g.

k'ɪ<sub>ɸ</sub>dɪ<sub>mw</sub>ξi , k'ama'wa /kirdim ū aykamawa/

§ 22. Many speakers regularly substitute the group /wē/ for /yō/, e.g.

/yōnān > wēnān/ 'Greece'

/bālyōz > bāl wēz/ 'ambassador'

/ʔtanturyōt > tanturwēt/ 'teinture d'iode'

/milyōn > milwēn/ 'million'

Tk. karyola > /qarawēla/ 'bed'

/wē/ of other origin often alternates with o<sub>ξ</sub><sub>ξ</sub> /ō/, e.g.

/bilwēr ~ bilör/ 'flute'

/atwētawa ~ atötawa/ 'it melts'

§ 23. ə is a mid-palatal (central) frictionless continuant, i.e. with the tongue position of the vowel e (§ 12).

Phonemically it is a realization of /d/ (v. § 32).

### Consonants.

§ 24. ʔ. In Kurdish words the glottal stop only occurs initially before vowels. It never appears internally, even

between vowels (cf. § 18.a). Since no two words are differentiated solely by the presence or absence of the glottal stop it cannot be considered as a phoneme of Kurdish. It occurs, however, in a number of unassimilated loanwords from Arabic (written ' ), e.g.

Ar. sU'ʔa:l /su'āl/ 'question',  
 contrast Kd. swā:ʔ /swāl/ 'begging'

Following a word ending in a consonant, the conjunction /u/ or the Izafe /ɪ/ (v. § 180), and in most cases the preposition /la/, an initial vowel is not preceded by ʔ.

Following any other word with a final vowel, or a pause, an initial vowel other than /ə/ (v. § 5) is normally preceded by ʔ. The modal prefix /a-/ (v. § 200.a), however, normally has an initial ʔ only after a pause, e.g.

bə: 'ʔau /bə aw/, but 'bə: ʔik'ʔi /bə aykay ?/

The appearance of ʔ where it does not occur in normal speech indicates "careful" or "emphatic" speech.

§ 25. q is a voiceless uvular plosive. It is unaspirated except when followed by /u/. Phoneme /q/.

k, g, ŋ.

§ 26. k' is a voiceless, aspirated velar plosive. When followed by /ā/ the aspiration is very slight. Phoneme /k/.

§ 27. g is a voiced, unaspirated velar plosive. Phoneme /g/.

§ 28. ŋ is a voiced velar nasal. It never occurs in initial position. In certain numerals (v. § 189) it is a velar,

nasal frictionless continuant, i.e. the back of the tongue approaches but does not touch the velum. In /qŋ/ alone it is vocalic. It is very rarely followed by a homorganic plosive and except in these conditions must be considered as a separate phoneme /ŋ/, e.g.

a: 'wɪŋ /āwɪŋ/, a: sɪ 'ŋaɾ /āsɪŋaɾ/,  
but bā: ŋ 'gUʃ /bāŋguʃ/ (cf. || 34)

|| 29. /k, g and ŋ/ are all strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel /y/. With /k, g/ this leads, but very rarely, to a vulgar pronunciation of c, j as the affricates tʃ, dʒ (v. || 49, 50), e.g.

ʃt'ɛ: c 'i: 'k'a > (ʃt'ɛ: tʃ i: 'k'a) /ʃitʃkɪ ka/  
ʃ'œɛ z > (dʒ'œɛ z) /göz/

t, d, n.

|| 30. t' is normally a voiceless, aspirated dental plosive. When followed by /ā/ the aspiration is very slight. In final, post-vocalic position t' is occasionally lost, e.g.

ħaut' > ħau /ħawt/

The pronominal suffix of the 2nd. person Singular (v. || 193.a) and the "euphonic" final consonants of the 2nd. and 3rd. person Singular verbal endings (v. || 202.c) are unaspirated, t. When in pause or followed by an initial consonant they are unexploded.

Since there are no two utterances differentiated solely by these two variant forms of "t" they may be considered

as allophones of a phoneme /t/.

§ 31. The pronominal suffix  $-(\pm)t$  / $-(i)t$ / (v. § 193.a)

alternates with the form  $-i$  / $-i$ /, even post-vocalically, e.g.

- sɛ:wɛ:k'±t a'əamɛ: ~ sɛ:wɛ:k'± /sɛwɛki(t) adamɛ/  
'tʃi:t k'±du:a ~ tʃi:± /čit ~ čii kirdūa ?/  
'b±t, k'Uz±m ~ 'b±±, k'Uz±m /bit ~ biikužim/

It is assimilated by a following nasal or lateral, e.g.

'na:n, na:s±m /nātnāsīm/, 'tʃi:llɛ: /čit lɛ/

§ 32. d is a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive.

(a) In initial position it is normally preserved, e.g.

dast' /dast/, da:ik' /dāyk/, &c.

(b) In medial position it is normally realized as the

semi-vowel ə (§ 23), but may be lost completely, e.g.

na:u'əa:f /nāwdār/, a:ma:'əa /āmāda/,  
ba:'əam, ba:'am /bādam/, ba'ya: /bayā/ 'Baghdad'

It is assimilated by a preceding /l, ±, v/, e.g.

da:l'la /dālda/, diʔ'ʔa:f /dildār/,  
hav'va /havda/

Following /ī, ē, y/ it is assimilated to j, or lost, e.g.

ɛi'jɛmɛ: /aydamɛ/, mɛi'ja:n /maydān/ 1)  
 /ʔdīdanī > ʔdīyanī > ʔdīēnī (cf. § 18.b) > dyēnī/

(This assimilation occurs also with an initial /d/, which has however a medial position in what has become a fixed, obscene, phrase, viz.

la ,q'Uzi: 'ja:ik'± b±m /la quzi dāyki bīm/.)

Following /r, z, ž/ it is preserved.

++ Fn. The phonemic spelling /maydān/ is justified, even within the Sul. dialect, by the fact that all other occurrences of -ij- represent phonemic /-yd-/.

(c) In final position following a vowel it is normally realized as the vowel e (§ 12), e.g.

bae /bad/, lɛ'ba:e /libād/

Following a consonant it is preserved, e.g.

k'ɛɪd /kird/, &c.

Only rarely in normal rapid speech is it not realized.

These realizations may all be considered as allophones of the phoneme /d/.

§ 33. The initial /d/ of the verb /dān/ is exceptional in that it is treated in all positions as medial /d/ (§ 32.b).

It is normally realized as the semi-vowel e, less commonly as j, e.g.

'eə:jɛ /dāya/, aeə:'tɛ: /adātē/,  
'na:jɛin /nādayn/, frɛ:jɛit /frē dayt/

or, between two consonants, as the vowel e, e.g.

haɛə'ɛa:wa /haɛ drāwa/

It is assimilated by a preceding nasal, /ɛ or y/, e.g.

'bimmaɛɛ: /bimdarē/, ama:nna:'tɛ: /amāndātē/,  
baɛaɛ'ɛa: /bar-haɛ-dā > baralɛɛ/,  
ɛi'jɛm /aydam/

Between two vowels it is often lost, e.g.

'baɛawa /bidarawa > barawa/,  
a'a:tɛ: /adātē > aātē/, na:jɛ /nadāya > nāya/

It is, however, preserved by a preceding /t/, e.g.

atda:'tɛ:      /atdātē/  
-----

§ 34. n is a voiced, dental nasal. In 'ndʒa: /ɲɲā/  
-----  
alone (cf. § 4.a) it is vocalic.

A following /k/ sometimes velarizes /n/, e.g.

xin'ka:n      /xinkān/,      bɪn'k'a      /binka/,  
-----

but mɪlwa:ɲ'k'a      /milwānka/  
-----

In contrast a following /g/ normally assimilates /n/, e.g.

ba:ɲ'gʊʃ      /bānguʃ/  
-----

The group /ng/ is, however, normally further reduced to /ɲ/,  
e.g.      /ʔāsingar > āsiɲar/

The dental nasal, and the velar followed by a velar plosive, may be considered as variants of the phoneme /n/.

p, b, m.  
-----

§ 35. p is a voiceless, aspirated bilabial plosive. When  
-----  
followed by /ā/ the aspiration is very slight. Phoneme /p/.

§ 36. b is a voiced, unaspirated bilabial plosive. Phoneme  
-----  
/b/. When in secondary contact with a following voiceless consonant it becomes a voiceless, but unaspirated, stop, e.g.

'tʃɪ**ɸ**bk'am      /čɪ bikam ?/  
-----

§ 37. m is a voiced, bilabial nasal. Phoneme /m/.  
-----

l, ɭ, r, ʀ.  
-----

§ 38. l is a voiced, dental lateral non-fricative. Phoneme  
-----  
/l/. E.g. gɪl /gil/ 'pain', p'ala /pala/ 'haste'.  
-----

§ 39. ɭ is a voiced, velarized, dental lateral non-fricative.  
-----

Phoneme /ɬ/. It never occurs in initial position.

With some, rare, speakers it appears to be realized as a retroflex lateral ɬ. Some women speakers replace /ɬ/ by /r/ (cf. § 96).

E.g. giɬ /giɬ/ 'clay', p'aɬa /paɬa/ 'stain'

§ 40. ɮ is a voiced, alveolar single flap. Phoneme /r/. It never occurs in initial position.

E.g. k'ar /kar/ 'donkey', p'ɪɮ /pɪɮ/ 'bridge'

It is often assimilated by a following lateral, e.g.

'halla /har la/

§ 41. r is a voiced, alveolar roll. Phoneme /ʀ/.

E.g. k'ar /kaʀ/ 'deaf', p'ɪr /pɪʀ/ 'full',

rɛ:wi: /ʀɛwɪ/ 'fox'

### Fricatives.

§ 42. h is voiceless, glottal aspiration. Phoneme /h/.

§ 43. ħ is a voiceless, pharyngeal fricative. Phoneme /ħ/.

§ 44. ʕ is a voiced, pharyngeal fricative, less tense than Ar. ع. Phoneme /ʕ/.

Note. /h and /ʕ/ appear in Kurdish words in place of original ʰh and ʔ, e.g. /hawt/ 'seven', /'āsmān/ 'heaven'.

§ 45. x is a voiceless, velar fricative. Phoneme /x/.

§ 46. ɣ is a voiced, velar fricative of rare occurrence.

Phoneme /ɣ/.

§ 47. ʃ is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative. /ʃ/.

§ 48. ʒ is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative. Phoneme /ʒ/.

§ 49. tʃ is a voiceless, alveolar + palato-alveolar affricate. Phoneme /tʃ/.

§ 50. dʒ is the voiced equivalent of tʃ (§ 49). Phoneme /dʒ/.

§ 51. s is a voiceless, alveolar fricative. Phoneme /s/.

§ 52. ʃ is a voiceless, alveolar "emphatic" fricative, the Ar. ص. It is of very rare occurrence, even in loanwords from Ar. In a few words it occurs in alternation with s, seemingly as a result of the "Persian" spelling, e.g.

ʃaʕ /sad/ '100' ص , ʃaʕt /ʃast/ '60' ش  
but also

ʃag /sag/ 'dog' (cf. § 142)

There are no two words differentiated by the two sounds s and ʃ alone and the latter can only be considered as a phonetic variant of /s/.

§ 53. z is a voiced, alveolar fricative. Phoneme /z/.

§ 54. f is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative. Phoneme /f/.

§ 55. v is a voiced, labio-dental fricative. Phoneme /v/.

It is extremely rare, occurring only in such sound-imitative words as /givva/ 'whirr' and by assimilation as in /havva < havda < \*hafda/.

### Consonant groups.

§ 56. (a) Initial consonant groups are common in Sul. Some seventy-five occur. The commonest types are (where c represents a consonant)

cL, cL̄, cR, cR̄, cW and cY,



i.e. groups in which the second member is a frictionless, lateral, rolled or flapped continuant. The remaining initial consonant groups which occur all contain a sibilant, e.g.

ŠK, ZM, ČK, &c.

Among medial consonant groups the commonest types are

Lc, Lc, Rc, R̄c, Mc, Nc, nc, Xc, Zc, Žc.

The only geminates are LL, LL̄, MM, NN.

The only groups of plosive + plosive are

BD, GB, KT, PK, PQ, TK, TQ.

The formulae Lc, Lc, Rc, Sc, Šc account for all final consonant groups, a total of approximately forty, except for rare occurrences of FT, MT, Nǃ, PR, XŠ, ZM, ŽM, ŽN.

(b) Some speakers appear to be less able than others to realize a consonant group in final position. Thus both  
 ʔasp' and 'ʔas<sup>±</sup>p' /asp/ are heard.

With all speakers certain consonant groups which are possible in medial position are not so in "final" position, i.e. in pause or followed by a third consonant. In these circumstances an unstressed, non-phonemic ± is realized between the consonants of the group, e.g.

xalqi: 'k'œ̄̄i            /xalqī köy ?/  
 -----  
 but xal<sup>±</sup>q 'ba:ŋ̄̄:ka:       /xalq bāŋī akā/  
 -----

In the phonemic transcription such a non-phonemic ± is not expressed, in contrast to a stressed, phonemic ± which is realized in final but not in unstressed medial position (cf. § 4. Note), e.g.

ba ʔa: 'sɪk' /ba āsik/,  
 -----  
 but ʔam ,a: skā: 'naa: /am āsikānaā/  
 -----  
 ha'mu: ,ʃɪt' /hamū šit/,  
 -----  
 but ha'mu: ʃt' ɛ:k' /hamū šitēk/  
 -----

§ 57. (a) Medial and final ND.

Corresponding to the group ND of other dialects the realization NN is heard in Sul. (cf. § 33), e.g.

/brīndār > brīnnār, bandaxön > bannaxön/

The group NN is normally further reduced to N or ŋ, e.g.

/banda > baŋa, gāzinda > gāziŋa, fand > faŋ,

māndū > māŋū, Hamawand > -waŋ, sönd > söŋ,

mindāl > mināl, miŋāl/

(b) ST. Medial ST is preserved and may even be introduced by analogy, e.g. /qastam/ < Ar. qasam.

In final position the T is occasionally lost, e.g.

dasɪ biʃo: /das(t)i bišō/, dru:s k'ɪɪd /drus(t) kird/  
 -----

k'o:sɪ bk'awɛ: /kōs(t)i bikawē/  
 -----

Before a voiced consonant the group becomes Z, e.g.

/dazgā < \*dastgā, dazgīrān < \*dastgīrān/,

daz na:k'awɛ: /dast nākawē/  
 -----

Note also the isolated group

'ra:z ak'ɛi /rāst akay/ 'you are right'  
 -----

### Phonemic system.

§ 58. The Sul. dialect has then the following system of

nine vowel, two semi-vowel and 27 consonant phonemes :

ī	i		u	ū
	ē	ō		ō
		a	ā	
q,		h,	ḥ,	ʿ,
k,	g,	ŋ,	x,	ɣ,
č,	ʃ,	š,	ž,	y,
t,	d,	n,	s,	z,
		l,	ɬ,	r,
p,	b,	m,	f,	v,
				w.

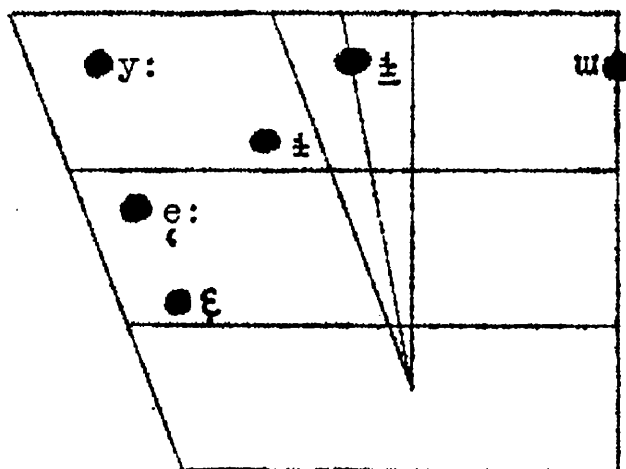
Note. Although this dialect has for some years been the vehicle of Kd. publications in Iraq the modified Arabic script now generally used represents not this but an "ideal" Sul. dialect, with the phonemic system of the Piž., Muk. dialects (q.v. §§ 75 ff.).

#### Wärmāwa Dialect.

§ 59. The War. dialect has the same phonemic system as the Sul. dialect (v. § 58), with two additions (v. § 70). The phonetic realizations of a number of phonemes are, however, different. For comparison therefore, following each paragraph number that of the appropriate paragraph in the Sul. section is given in parentheses.

Vowels.

¶ 60 (¶ 2).



¶ 61 (¶ 4). /i/. Before /ɔ̌, ɟ/ (v.¶ 70), following another /i/, and in all the diphthongs of class (c), /i/ is more close and back than otherwise, i.e. it is a close, central vowel ɤ, e.g.

hɑ: 't' ɤ ġim /hɑtiġim/, 'b ɤ ġka: /biikā/  
-----

Thus /ii/ is here a further diphthong of class (c), rather than a simple vowel group (cf.¶ 18.a).

¶ 62 (¶ 5). /ē/ is a half-close, front vowel e:, coinciding with the position of /ē/ in the Sul. diphthong /ēy/, in all positions. The War. diphthong /ēy/ normally has a slight anticipatory raising of the tongue, e.g. p' j e: i /pēy/.

¶ 63 (¶ 7). /a/. Both before and after /ɪ, y/ the phoneme /a/ is realized as a medium, front vowel ɛ, coinciding with the position of /a/ in the Sul., War. diphthong /ay/, e.g.

hɛjɛ /haya/, e: m ɛjɛ /ēmaya/  
-----

¶ 64 (¶ 9). /ɔ̌/. The medium, back vowel o: is often preceded by an anticipatory lip-rounding, particularly

after another vowel, e.g.

ʃo:f-, ʃwo:f dɪgma /šōrdigma/, p'e:ʷo: /pēō/

§ 65 (§ 11). The group \*-ɪw(ɪ)- is sometimes contracted to u: /ū/, e.g.

bu:m :: awUm /būm < \*biwim :: awim/,

bu:ri: /būri < \*biwiri/

/ū/, of whatever origin, is sometimes palatalized by a following /y/ or front vowel. The diphthong /uy/ is realized as y:i, or simply y:, e.g.

ap'a:my:ito: /aparmūytō/,

by:e:t :: ayē:t /būēt < \*biwēt :: awēt/,

bu:it, by:it, by:t :: ayit /būyt < \*biwit :: awit/

#### Semi-vowels.

§ 66 (§ 21). /w/ is palatalized by a following /y/ or front vowel, giving u, e.g.

amaue: bi:uɪ:nɪm /amawē biwīnim/

#### Consonants.      g, d, b.

§ 67 (§ 27). /g/. In inter-vocalic position and following /n, r, y, z/ a voiced, frictionless continuant appears in place of /g/. The blade of the tongue approaches but does not touch the velum in the position of g, producing IPA w with the lips in neutral position. This will be written ǵ. Following a vowel in a closed syllable the same sound forms a series of diphthongs /\*ag, &c./, analogous to class (d) (§ 17), e.g.

a:ğ̃ı̇ /<sup>\*</sup>āgır/, dı̇ğ̃a:n /<sup>\*</sup>dīgān/, sağ̃ /<sup>\*</sup>sag/,  
ēiğ̃f̃im /<sup>\*</sup>aygirim/, bağ̃za:əa /<sup>\*</sup>bagzāda/,  
a:sı̇ng̃ar /<sup>\*</sup>āsingar/, dağ̃g̃a: /<sup>\*</sup>dargā/,  
me:ɾğ̃ /<sup>\*</sup>mērg/, ñı̇zğ̃aɾa /<sup>\*</sup>nizgara/

In these same positions /g/ occasionally disappears,

e.g. lağ̃aɾ, le:ɾ /<sup>\*</sup>lagar > lēɾ/, m̃ı̇zayt̃ /<sup>\*</sup>mizgawt/,  
ēina: /<sup>\*</sup>agīnā/

When followed by /ɿ, y/ the group /<sup>\*</sup>ig/ is reduced,

thus ı̇gi:, ı̇ğ̃j become i:ɿ, i:j > i:, e.g.

ha:t̃'i:ɿ :: ha:t̃'ı̇ğ̃im /hātɿɿ :: <sup>\*</sup>hātigim/  
wUt̃'i:(j)ɿ :: wUt̃'ı̇ğ̃ma /wutɿ(y)a :: <sup>\*</sup>wutigma/

This is the only occurrence of /ɿɿ, ɿy/ (cf. § 18.c).

§ 68 (§ 32). /d/ has the same realizations in medial and final positions as Sul. /d/, i.e. ə &c., with the exception that it does not appear to be assimilated regularly by preceding /ɿ, y, m, &c./, e.g.

saə /<sup>\*</sup>sad/, baəan /<sup>\*</sup>badan/, ho:əa /<sup>\*</sup>hōda/,  
ēiəam /<sup>\*</sup>aydam/, b̃ı̇məaɾe: /<sup>\*</sup>bimdarē/,

but m̃ı̇i'ja:n /mayyān/

§ 69 (§ 36). /b/. In postvocalic position /b/ coincides with /w/ (§ 66), e.g.

d̃ı̇wa:u /<sup>\*</sup>jwāb/, qaɾsa:n /<sup>\*</sup>qabrsān/, ēiwam /<sup>\*</sup>aybam/,  
a:ffa:sja:u /<sup>\*</sup>āfrāsyāb/, t̃'ēiwa:t̃ < Ar. ṭabī'at,  
ēiui:ñim /<sup>\*</sup>aybīnim/, qu:ɿi: :: Sul. /qubūɿɿ/

§ 70. These developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, i.e. from the phonemic writing /g, d, b/

the medial, continuant realizations ǧ, ə, w would still be predictable. The case is altered, however, by the irregular occurrence of loanwords, be it from spoken Arabic or the dominant Sul. dialect, with intervocalic voiced plosives. The resulting confusion is well exemplified by the following sentences :

auq: baəali bə: bidam.      qabu:ʔim ni:ɛ  
 -----  
 /ʔabə baəali bə bidam.      qabulim nɪa./  
       =       =               =               =

In certain verbal stems, moreover, the intervocalic continuant has been introduced into initial position, e.g.

wastī : Sul. bastī,      wim : Sul. būm

Clearly, to preserve the predictability of the actual realization it is necessary to indicate in phonemic writing the incidence of either plosive or continuant /g, d, b/. Since a phoneme /w/ already exists it is only necessary to introduce two new phonemes, viz. ə, ə /ə/ and ǧ /ǧ/, e.g.

/āǧir, nizǧara, wutiǧma/, but /aynā/ (cf. § 67),

/baǧzāda, ayda, baḍa, hōda/ (cf. § 68),

/ǧwāw, taywāt, aywīnim/, but /qūḷī/ (cf. § 69)

§ 71 (§ 31). (a) When /t/ occurs in final position, i.e. in pause or followed by another consonant, and is preceded by /a, ā/ it is realized as ṭ, forming the diphthongs

aṭ, a:ṭ, e.g.

ha:ṭ      /ʔhāt/,      karaṭ      /ʔkaṭat/      Ar. karra<sup>t</sup>  
 -----

(b) When /t/ is preceded by the diphthong /aw/ it is not realized in final position, e.g.

k'au /<sup>ʔ</sup>kawt/, hau /<sup>ʔ</sup>hawt/

(c) As in § 70, these developments do not in themselves alter the phonemic system, since the spellings /hāt, kawt/ &c. still indicate the realizations ha:t, k'au &c. The irregular occurrence of Sul. dialect forms, however, such as ha:t', k'au't', requires that the real War. forms be distinguished by writing /hāi, kaw/ &c.

#### Consonant groups.

§ 72 (§ 57). (a) The group ND of other dialects appears regularly as N, e.g.

ma:nig /māniġ/ :: Sul. /māŋŋ/  
zi:na:n /zīnān/ :: Sul. /zīŋān/  
tʃan /čan/ :: Sul. /čan, čaŋ/

(b) Corresponding to the medial and final ST of other dialects the realization S is normal in War., e.g.

dasak' /dasak/ :: Sul. /dastak/  
zu:sa:n /zūsān/ :: Sul. /zistān/  
mīsafā: /Misafā/ :: Sul. /Mistafā/

Note the analogical back-formation in

ro:st'ga:f /<sup>ʔ</sup>rōzgār/



Treatment of Loanwords.

§ 73. Arabic loanwords suffer a variety of changes, e.g.

/laqam/ < ? Ar. laqab 'by-name', /da'b/ < Ar. daf'  
'repulsion', /talfī/ < Ar. ṭifl 'child' + /-ī/

There is considerable confusion between /h/ and ' /, e.g.

/tamāh/ < Ar. ṭama', ṭamā'a<sup>t</sup> 'desire',

/mawqīh/ < Ar. mawqī' 'place', /ma'b/ < Ar. maḥw  
'erasure', even /jurhat/ < Ar. ḡur'a<sup>t</sup> 'courage'

Assimilation is common, particularly in the Ar. form  
maf'ūl, which yields a measure mafmūl, e.g.

-----  
/maǰmūr/ < Ar. maǰbūr 'obliged',

/mazzmūt/ < Ar. maǰbūt 'strong',

/manmūn/ < Ar. mamnūn 'thankful'

Phonemic system.

§ 74. The War. dialect has then the following system  
of 9 vowel, 2 semi-vowel and 29 consonant phonemes :

ī	i		u	ū	
	ē	ö	ō		
		a	ā		
q,			h, ḥ, ',		
k, g,	ǧ,	ŋ,	x, γ,		(ǧ),
č, ĵ,		š, ž,			y,
t, d,	ḏ,	n, s, z,	l, ɬ, r, ʔ,	(ḏ),	
p, b,	(w),	m, f, v,			w.

Bingird and Piždar Dialects.

§ 75. The Bin., Piž. dialects have the same phonemic system as the Sul. dialect (v. § 58), with one exception (v. § 79). The phonetic realization of a number of phonemes is, however, different.

Vowels.

§ 76 (§ 5). /e/ is the half-close, front vowel e:, as in the War. dialect (v. § 62).

In final position following /i, y/ it is shorter and more open, ɛ, i.e. approaching /a/, e.g.

swa:r'jɛ /swārīē/ (cf. § 18.b)

Very occasionally the diphthong /ay/ appears to become /e/ in final position, e.g.

/aw barē < \*baray, awē < \*away, baw īšē < \*īšay/  
cf. § 95 and Muk. § 7.b.

§ 77 (§ 6). /ø/ is commonly the rising diphthong œ'e, and with some speakers is so close as to be indistinguishable from ye /wē/.

Diphthongs.

§ 78. (a) The diphthongs of classes (c), ending in ɛ, and (d), ending in ə, do not occur (v. §§ 16, 17, 81, 82).

(b) With certain Piž. speakers the /w/ of class (b) diphthongs is sufficiently consonantal in character to require the realization of an unstressed, non-phonemic ɛ after it when the following consonant is final (cf. § 56.b),

e.g.        'k'aw<sup>±</sup>t'bu:    /kawtbū/  
 -----

### Consonants.

§ 79 (§ 28). ŋ is always followed by a homorganic plosive and must be considered as a velar allophone of /n/ and not as a separate phoneme (cf. § 83).

§ 80 (§ 29). /k, g/ are strongly palatalized by a following front vowel or the semi-vowel /y/. With some speakers this is carried to the extent of realizing c, j as affricates tʃ, dʒ. There is, however, no confusion with the phonemes /č, ʝ/ (v. § 84).

§ 81 (§§ 30, 31). /t/ is a voiceless, aspirated dental plosive with the same unaspirated allophone as in Sul. It is never lost or assimilated, nor does it alternate with final /i/.

§ 82 (§ 32). /d/ is a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive in all positions.

§ 83 (§ 34). /n/ is a voiced, dental plosive. Before a velar plosive it has a velar variant ŋ, e.g.

bɛŋ'gɪfd        /Bingird/,  
 -----

and before a palatalized velar plosive a palatal variant

ɲ, e.g.        daɲɟi:    /dangɪ/  
 -----

§ 84 (§§ 49, 50). With some speakers /č, ʝ/ are alveolar + alveolo-palatal affricates tʃ, dʒ rather than tʃ, dʒ.

Thus there is no confusion with the same speaker's affricative pronunciation of c, j (v. § 80). As a mnemonic

this peculiarity is marked by writing the phonemes /č, ʃ/ for /č, ʃ/.

### Consonant groups.

§ 85 (§ 57). The groups ND and ST are normally preserved in all positions. They may even be introduced by analogy, e.g. /mazanda/ < Ar. mazanna<sup>t</sup> 'conjecture'

There is a tendency to form inter- and post-vocalic groups of voiced plosive preceded by homorganic nasal to replace either single consonant, especially in loanwords, e.g. /bandan/ < Ar. badan 'body', /ɪnɪmbārak/ < Ar. mubārak 'blessed', /ɪhambāl/ < Ar. ḥammāl 'porter', /ɪɪmb/ < Ar. rumḥ 'lance', /dōndim/ < Tk. dönüm 'acre'

### Loanwords.

§ 86 (§ 73). Loanwords from Arabic suffer such changes as /salam/ < Ar. ṣanam 'idol' /ɪɪyānatī/ < Ar. xiyāna<sup>t</sup> 'treachery' + /-ɪ/, when they are not completely disguised by such malapropisms as /ta'ʃīl/ for Ar. tasʃīl 'recording' and tāʃir 'merchant', /tarbiat/ for Ar. tartīb 'arrangement'.

The phonemes /ɪh and ' / are often confused, e.g.

/ɪhātā/ < Ar. 'aṭā 'gift', /ɪhāyla/ < Ar. 'ā'ila<sup>t</sup> 'family', /ɪhazīz, nahmān/ < Ar. 'Azīz, Nu'mān

### Phonemic system.

§ 87. The Bin., Piž. dialects have then the following

system of 9 vowel, 2 semi-vowel and 26 consonant phonemes :

ī	i		u	ū
	ē	ö (wē)		ō
		a		ā
q,		h, <u>h</u> ,		‘,
k, g,		x, γ,		
(č, ʃ)	č, ʃ,	š, ž,		y,
	t, d, n, s, z, l, ɫ, r, ʀ,			
	p, b, m, f, v,			w.

### Mukrī Dialect.

§ 88. The phonetic description of the Muk. dialect in Mann, Muk. §§ 1 - 7, suggests a phonemic system identical with that of the Piž. dialect. This is supported by the Muk. songs in Mokri, op. cit. pp. 106 - 131.

### Vowels.

§ 89. Mann's transcription ūê must be for ue, œe. His MSS often show ū̄ before normalization. Since either vowel can be stressed it appears still to be comparable with the single phoneme Sul. /ö/, albeit alternating with /wē/ (v. §§ 6, 77), e.g.

Muk.		cf. Mokri,
7,30	nūêzh- -----	/nwēž/ : 410 nwêzh -----
3,6	khūên -----	/xön/ : 428 khwên (Sul., sic) -----
13,21	khūên -----	/xwēn/

Diphthongs.

§ 90. The transcriptions äî; au, ôû almost exactly mirror the Sul. diphthongs /ay, aw/ (v. § 7).  
-----

It must be assumed (despite Mann, Muk. § 6) that the long notation of the second vowel in the diphthongs äî, âû etc. results from a distortion of the sounds in slow dictation.  
-----

Consonants.

§ 91. Mann states, Muk. § 2, end, that /l and ɭ/ are interchangeable in most, but not all, words. These exceptions alone suffice to justify the separate phonemic status of the two consonants. For the rest one can only note that in neighbouring dialects there is extremely little, if any, alternation between these sounds.

§ 92. Neither Mann nor Mokri differentiate /r and ʀ/ in Mukrī. As the same is true of both writers' transcriptions of the Sul. dialect (Mann's in MSS), where the opposition undoubtedly exists, one is free to assume its presence in Mukrī also. Moreover, Mann occasionally noted rr, e.g. kurr 'boy', but normalized kur in publication.  
-----

Arbil Dialect. (Kd. Hawlēr)

§ 93. The Arb. dialect (including Koi Sanjaq (Kd. Kōya), the Xoš. and Rdz. areas, and probably the Brādōst area to the north of Rdz.) has a phonemic system the same as that

of the Piž. (Muk.) dialect (v. § 87) with two exceptions.

### Vowels.

§ 94. /ö/ does not occur. It is replaced by various other phonemes, e.g.

/nwēž/ 'prayer' Sul. /nōž/, /sūr/ 'salty' Sul. /sör/,  
/xundin/ 'study' Sul. /xōnin/, /gē/ 'ear' Sul. /gö/,  
/gīz/ 'walnut' Sul. /göz/

§ 95. Final /ay/ appears sometimes to alternate with /ē/, cf. § 76 and Muk. § 7.b, but the morphology is not clear.

E.g. /harbī aw šawē < \*šaway/,

/bīfō nāw bīray :: aminyān hāwīšta nāw bīrē/

### Consonants.

§ 96. /ɫ/ is regularly replaced by /r/ (cf. § 39), e.g.

/dir/ 'heart' Sul. /diɫ/, /darēm/ 'I say' Sul. /aɫēm/

/ɫ/ is only heard as a borrowing, probably occasioned by radio broadcasts in the Sul. dialect.

§ 97. /č, ʃ/ are regularly realized as the alveolar + alveolo-palatal affricates tʃ, dʃ, i.e. /č, ʃ/ (v. § 84).

§ 98. /h and ' / are almost regularly interchanged by unlettered speakers, e.g.

/haft, 'aft/ 'seven',

/'āʃī halī/ 'Hāʃī 'Alī' (not an isolated spoonerism)

### Phonemic system.

§ 99. The Arb. dialect has then the following system

of 8 vowel, 2 semi-vowel and 25 consonant phonemes :

ī	i	u	ū
ē		ō	
	a	ā	
q,	h,	ḥ,	ʿ,
k,	g,	x,	ɣ,
č,	ǰ,	š,	ž,
			y,
t,	d,	n,	s,
		z,	l,
		r,	ʔ,
p,	b,	m,	f,
		v,	w.

### Sūrčī Dialect.

§ 100. The Sur. dialect has the same phonemic system as the Arb. dialect but the realizations of certain phonemes are appreciably different.

### Vowels.

§ 101. /ā/ is an open, front vowel of an exceptional length, causing most Sur. speakers to give an unmistakable impression of "bleating".

§ 102. /ā, ē and ī/ are sometimes shortened in final position to coincide with short vowel phonemes,

/ā > a/, /ē/ > ẹ > /a/, /ī > i/.

§ 103. /w/ is palatalized by a following front vowel or /y/. Following another consonant in the same syllable it is realized, before /ī/, as a very close ụ, e.g.

bin'wī:sim /biniwīsim/, but 'ḍyī:ne: /dwīnē/  
 -----



Consonants.

§ 104. /k, g/ are palatalized by a following front vowel or /y/, being realized as c, j. Before /ā/ a fleeting j is heard which does not, however, palatalize the consonant, e.g. /kē/ c'e:, /kā/ k'ja:, /gā/ g'ja:

§ 105. /š, ž/ are replaced by the alveolo-palatal fricatives ç, ʒ, which for mnemonic purposes are represented phonemically as /ś, ź/ (cf. § 84).

Akra Dialect. (Ar. 'aqra, Kd. ākrē)

Vowels.

§ 106. In the Ak. dialect (including the Zēbārī area) the following simple vowels occur, (IPA) i, ɪ, e, a, ɑ, U, u, y.

There are two degrees of length. i:, e:, ɑ:, u: and y: are always long. ɪ, a and U are always short.

Note. All initial vowels are preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop, e.g.

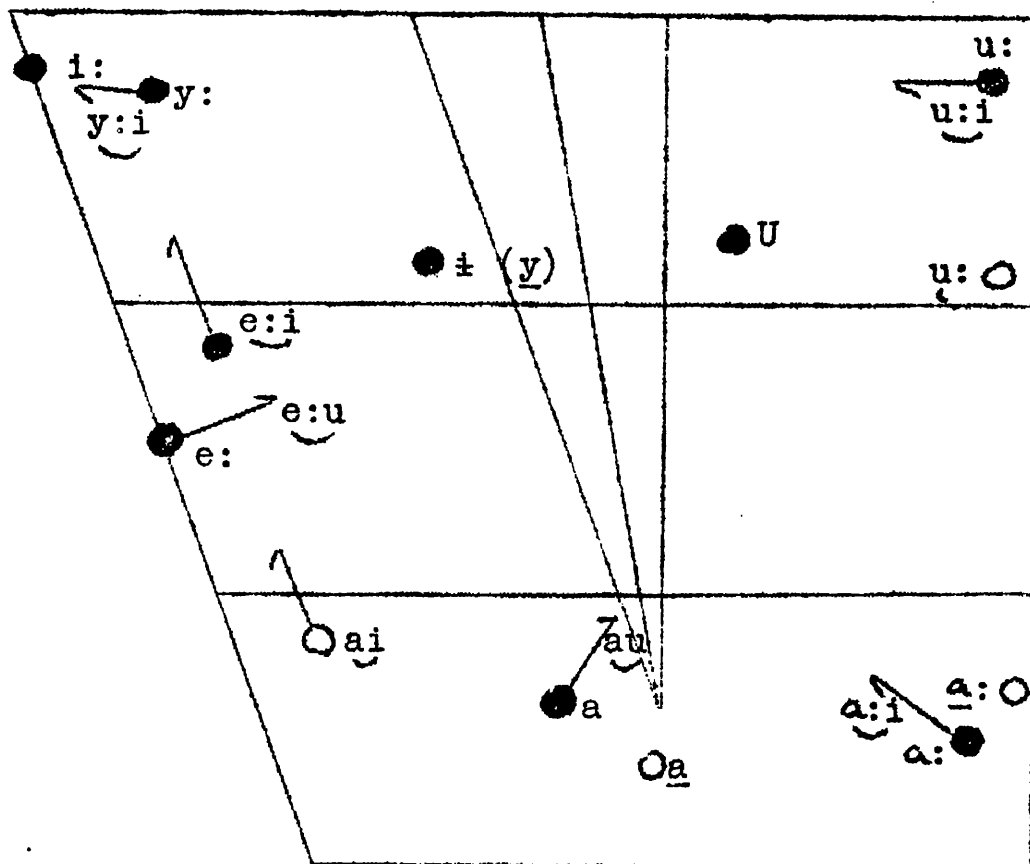
ʔa:v /āv/, ʔa:xɪft'ɪn /āxiftin/

When this is realized in a compound noun, or following a modal prefix in a verb form, the "initial" character of the vowel is marked by a preceding hyphen, e.g.

ru:ʃʔa:va: /rôž-āvā/,

t'ɪʔa:xivi:t' /t-āxivīt/ ~ t'ɑ:xivi:t' /tāxivīt/

¶ 107.



¶ 108. i: is invariably a very close, front vowel.

Phoneme /ɪ/.

¶ 109. ɨ is a half-close, front-central vowel. Phoneme /ɨ/.

It has a variant with lip-rounding, y, before y:, e.g.

dyɨy:n /dirɨn/

An /ɨ/ in unstressed position between two consonants is often not realized, e.g.

'da:f't'a /dā čita/

See also ¶ 148.

¶ 110. e: is a medium, front vowel, e:, except in the diphthong e:i (v. ¶ 116) when it approaches a half-close, front e:. Phoneme /ɛ/.

¶ 111. a is a half-open, front-central vowel, except in

the diphthong ai (v. § 116) when it approaches a half-open, front ɛ. Following an "emphatic" /t, s/ (v. §§ 123, 142) it is slightly more back a. Phoneme /a/.

§ 112. a: is an open, back vowel, varying with different speakers between cardinals a and o. Following an "emphatic" /t, s/ it is slightly more back a:. Phoneme /a/.

§ 113. u is a half-close, back-central vowel. Phoneme /u/.

§ 114. u: is a close, back vowel. In contact with the "emphatic" consonants /t, s/ it is somewhat more open u:. In the common phrase /bô xô/ it is usually reduced, thus bu: > bU > bxu:, written /bu xô/. Phoneme /ô/ (v. § 115).

§ 115. y: is a close, front vowel with lip-rounding. Some speakers (it is said the natives of one only of the three Kd. quarters of Akra, and certainly the non-Kd. Christian population) replace this vowel regularly by /ɪ/ (§ 108), thus my: ~ mi: &c. Phoneme /û/.

Since u: and y: correspond generally to o: and u: respectively of other Kd. dialects it is convenient, and within the system of the Ak. dialect unambiguous, to represent them phonemically as /ô, û/ or, as here for mnemonic purposes, /ô, û/.

#### Diphthongs.

§ 116. There are two classes of diphthongs in the Ak. dialect, namely those ending in :

(a) a close, front vowel i ; e:i, ai, a:i, u:i and y:i,

(b) a close, back vowel u ; e:u, au.

They are phonemically identical with the corresponding Sul. &c. diphthongs of the same classes (cf. §§ 13 - 15) and for the same reasons may be written /ēy, ay, āy, ôy, ūy/ and /ēw, aw/.

### Semi-vowels.

§ 117. j is a palatal (front) frictionless continuant.  
Phoneme /y/.

§ 118. w is a bilabial (back) frictionless continuant.  
It is not noticeably palatalized by a following front vowel. Phoneme /w/.

### Consonants.

§ 119. q is a voiceless uvular plosive. Phoneme /q/.

k, g.

§ 120. k' is a voiceless, aspirated velar plosive. It is palatalized by a following front vowel (including /û/) or /y/. Phoneme /k/.

§ 121. g is a voiced, unaspirated velar plosive. It is palatalized by a following front vowel or /y/. Phoneme /g/.

t, ṭ, d, n.

§ 122. t' is a voiceless dental plosive, aspirated in all positions except in contact with a following consonant. Phoneme /t/. E.g. /tā/ 'fever'.

§ 123. \* is a voiceless, unaspirated alveolar "emphatic"

plosive produced by the blade of the tongue touching the upper tooth ridge, the rest of the tongue being depressed and rising at the back to form a central hollow (as Ar. *b*).

Phoneme /t/. E.g. /tā/ 'branch'.

§ 124. d is a voiced, unaspirated dental plosive in all positions. Phoneme /d/.

§ 125. n is a voiced, dental nasal. Before a velar plosive it has a velar allophone ŋ. Before /v/ in secondary contact it has a labio-dental variant ɱ, e.g. 'bɱva /biniva/. In certain numerals, before /z/, it is realized as a nasalization of the previous vowel /ā/, e.g. ǰā: 'za /yānza/. Phoneme /n/.

p, b, m.

§ 126. p' is a voiceless bilabial plosive, aspirated in all positions except in contact with a following consonant. Phoneme /p/.

§ 127. b is a voiced, unaspirated bilabial plosive. In secondary contact with a voiceless consonant it becomes a voiceless, but unaspirated, stop, e.g. pxu: /bu xô/. The secondary group bh is further reduced to p', e.g.

/bihāvēža/ ɾb'ha:ve:ʒa > 'p'a:ve:ʒa

Phoneme /b/.

§ 128. m is a voiced, bilabial nasal. Phoneme /m/.

l, r, ɾ.

§ 129. l is a voiced dental lateral non-fricative. Phoneme

/l/. ɬ is extremely rare. In ɬɪp it may be an allophone of /l/ after the emphatic /t/. baɣaɬɬa: is a borrowing from Sul. But faɬa 'Christian' is unexplained.

§ 130. ɣ is a voiced, dental single flap. It never occurs in initial position. It is sometimes assimilated and lost before /l/, e.g. hal'mɪn /har l min/. Phoneme /r/.

§ 131. r is a voiced, dental roll. Phoneme /r̥/.

### Fricatives.

§ 132. h is voiceless, glottal aspiration. Phoneme /h/.

§ 133. ħ is a voiceless, pharyngeal fricative. Phoneme /ħ/.

§ 134. ʕ is a voiced, pharyngeal fricative, /ʕ/. Ar. ع.

§ 135. x is a voiceless, velar fricative. Phoneme /x/.

§ 136. ɣ is a voiced, velar fricative. Phoneme /ɣ/. It is very uncommon, appearing only in loanwords, and is then normally replaced by /x/.

§ 137. ʃ is a voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative. /ʃ/.

§ 138. ʒ is a voiced, palato-alveolar fricative. /ʒ/.

§ 139. tʃ is a voiceless, alveolar + palato-alveolar affricate. Phoneme /tʃ/. In secondary contact with /t/ it is reduced to ʃ, e.g. /nāčita/ 'na:ʃt'a

§ 140. dʒ is the voiced equivalent of tʃ. Phoneme /dʒ/.

§ 141. s is a voiceless, alveolar fricative. Phoneme /s/.

§ 142. ʂ is a voiceless, alveolar "emphatic" fricative, with the same tongue position as /t/ (§ 123), as Ar. ص.

Phoneme /s̥/. E.g. ʂa /sa/ 'dog'

§ 143. z is a voiced, alveolar fricative. Phoneme /z/.

§ 144. ḡ is a voiced, alveolar "emphatic" fricative, the voiced counterpart of /s/ (§ 142). It is not identical with Ar. ḡ, though this letter is often used to write the phoneme /ḡ/.

§ 145. f is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative. /f/.

§ 146. v is a voiced, labio-dental fricative. It is very common, corresponding usually to Sul. &c. /w/. Phoneme /v/.

Note. In at least one Zēbārī village, however, (Xalīlkān, some 15 miles west of Akra) the fricative does not occur.

Ak. /w and v/ coincide in /w/.

#### Consonant groups.

§ 147. Consonant groups are comparatively rare in the Ak. dialect, particularly in initial position.

The following groups alone occur initially :

BR, DR, FR, KR, BY, GY, SM, SP, ST, ST (written ST by Xālīdī, in Bitlīsī), ŠK, XW.

The commonest medial consonant groups are (where c represents a consonant)

Lc, Rc, Mc, Nc, Sc, Zc, Šc, Žc, Vc, Xc.

The only geminate is LL. The only groups of two plosives are individual occurrences of BD, KB, TQ.

There are no primary three-consonant groups apart from ccY, e.g. FTY, NGY, RSY, XTY, ZDY.

There are 22 final consonant groups permissible, viz.

RČ, RK, RĴ, RM, RŠ, RX, RZ, SK, ST, ST, ŠT, NG, NĴ, NK and individual occurrences of FS, FT, LG, LT, HM, HN, HR, HF.

When a consonant group which is permissible in medial but not in final position occurs in pause, or followed by a third consonant, an unstressed non-phonemic  $\pm$  is realized between the consonants of the group. This is not written in the phonemic transcription (cf. § 56.b), e.g.

<u>b</u> ɪfa baɪ 'ʃ <u>al</u> bɛ:	/bira bar <u>sal</u> bɛ/
-----	
'ʃ <u>al</u> $\pm$ b k'ai	/ <u>sal</u> b kay/
-----	

§ 148. The occurrence of secondary consonant groups is quite common, owing to the frequency of the prepositions /l, p, t, v/ and the modal affix /t-/ (v. §§ 169.b.Fn., 294).

Groups of three consonants are commonly realized with no intervening vowel, thus CCC, e.g.

/tayr p xurtɪ/	<u>ta</u> ɪp'xU <u>t</u> 'i:
	-----
/kiřim p pēnĵ/	k'ɪr <u>ɪ</u> mp'p'e:ndʒ
	-----
/sa <u>h</u> tkatē/	'sa <u>h</u> tk'at'e:
	-----

A short, unstressed vowel  $\pm$  may, however, be realized, either before the final consonant of the group, thus (C)CC<sup>V</sup>C, e.g.

/az tšēm/	as t' $\pm$ ʃe:m
	-----
/sa <u>h</u> l āgirɪ/	sa <u>h</u> l' $\pm$ a:giɪ:
	-----
/kaft l xānɪ/	k'aft l' $\pm$ 'xa:ni:
	-----

or, less commonly, before the penultimate consonant, thus (C)C<sup>V</sup>CC, e.g.

/dat p nān/	dat' $\pm$ ba:n
	-----



/sa <u>h</u> tkatē/	'sa <sup>h</sup> tk'at'e:
/hal stā/	'hal <sup>h</sup> st'a:

Owing to this variation CCC : CC<sup>V</sup>C : C<sup>V</sup>CC the vowel cannot be considered as phonemic.

Larger secondary groups may be occasioned by the non-realization of unstressed, but phonemic, /i/. The pattern of realization is then C<sup>V</sup>CC<sup>V</sup>CC, i.e. by groups of two consonants from the last, a non-phonemic <sup>h</sup> being realized where necessary, e.g.

/tē t-fikirit-ē/	't'e: t <sup>h</sup> fk' <sup>h</sup> t'e:,
but /yē t-fikirīt/	,je:tfk'f'i:t'
/galak t-girīt/	ga'lak't <sup>h</sup> gri:t'

#### Phonemic system.

§ 149. The Ak. dialect has then the following system of 8 vowel, 2 semi-vowel and 28 consonant phonemes :

ī	i	û	u	ō
ē				
a ā				
q,	h, <u>h</u> , ' ,			
k, g,	x, γ,			
č, ĵ,	š, ž,	y,		
<u>t</u> ,	<u>s</u> , <u>z</u>			
t, d, n, s, z, l, r, ʔ,				
p, b, m, f, v, w.				

Amadiya - Zakho Dialect. (Ar. 'amādīya, Kd. āmēdī(ē); zāxô)

§ 150. The Am., Zx. dialects (including the Bar., Gul. and Sindī areas) have a phonemic system similar to that of the Ak. dialect with, however, certain additional phonemes.

#### Vowels.

§ 151. y: /û/ is confused by some speakers with i: /ī/,  
 e.g. dy:ng, di:ng /dûng > dīng/

#### Consonants.

k, t, p; ḳ, ṭ, p̣.

§ 152. There are two series of voiceless plosives, namely k, t, p, unaspirated, and k', t', p', aspirated. Those of the latter, aspirated, series correspond phonetically in every particular to the Ak. phonemes /k, t, p/. Since, however, their aspiration is here the significant factor in an opposition k' : k, t' : t, p' : p it is convenient to mark it positively in the phonemic notation /ḳ, ṭ, p̣/, leaving unmarked /k, t, p/ to represent the new unaspirated series, e.g.

/kurk/ 'broody (hen)' :: /ḳurḳ/ 'fur-coat'

#### Consonant groups.

§ 153. (a) In Am. secondary consonant groups are realized as in Ak. (v. § 148), i.e. either as CCC, without a vowel, e.g. /čē ṭkan ž hirīē/ ṭʃe:tkanʃ'ḥi:ē:, or as CC<sup>v</sup>C, e.g.

/rašid l baydā/      ra,ʃi:d l<sup>±</sup>bay'da:,  
 or as C<sup>V</sup>CC, e.g.

/čôn p řēva/      tʃu:n<sup>±</sup>pre:va

(b) In the remaining dialects of the group there is less flexibility. Whenever three consonants come into secondary contact an unstressed vowel <sup>±</sup> is realized before the penultimate consonant of the group, thus always C<sup>V</sup>CC.

When two consonants in secondary contact follow a pause they are preceded by an unstressed <sup>±</sup>, thus <sup>V</sup>CC. E.g.

Bar.	/kať ž darva/	k'at' <sup>±</sup> ʒ'dařva
Zx.	/dast p šôlī/	dast' <sup>±</sup> p'ʃu:li:
Gul.	/ž zamān/	<sup>±</sup> ʒza'ma:n

#### Phonemic system.

§ 154. The Am. - Zx. dialects have then the following system of 8 vowel, 2 semi-vowel and 31 consonant phonemes :

I	i	û	u	ô	
	ē				
	a	ā			
	q,		h, <u>h</u> ,	'	
	ķ, k, g,		x, γ,		
	č,	ʃ,	š, ž,		y,
	<u>t</u> ,		<u>s</u> , <u>z</u> ,		
	t, t, d, n, s, z, l, r, ř,				
	þ, p, b, m, f, v,				w.

Hakārī and Bōtān Dialects.

§ 155. There is no satisfactory phonetic description of either of these dialects. The most recent description, that of Hadank (op. cit. pp. 20 - 25), is based on the speech of the cosmopolitan Emir Kamuran Aali Bedir-Xan (KABX), of Bōtānī family, and is of little value. It is possible, however, to cull the following facts from the description in "L'Alphabet Kurde", a series of articles in the Kd. periodical "Hawar" (Damascus, 1932 - 43) by Emir Djeladet Aali Bedir-Xan (CABX).

(a) Hawar, No. 11, p. 7. "Les Kurdes de la région constituée par le (Botan) au centre, le (Heqarî) au Nord et le (Behdînan) au Sud prononcent .. le (û) comme le (u) français, ainsi que la majorité des kurdes comme le (u) allemand.

Comme conséquence naturelle de cette prononciation, les mêmes kurdes prononcent le (o) comme le (ou) français, .."

(b) CABX states (No. 6, p. 10) that there is a "manque de (û) bref dans la langue Kurde;". Accordingly he uses the letter u for "presque un nouveau son". His description of this sound is somewhat obscure, but Lescot (Textes, I, p. vi, Fn. 2) summarizes thus, "u - correspond au son wī", i.e. wī. But Hadank gives no special description of this sound, cf. op. cit. p. 29, /gundekî Kurdistanê/ transcribed phonetically gúndäkî kurdistānê.

(c) No. 10, p. 5. "De même certains Kurdes .. prétend(ent)

que dans la langue Kurde aussi existe(nt) deux (ك), comme en arabe le (س) et le (ص), le (ت) et le (ط) et ainsi de suite." CABX, however, does not consider that the opposition  $k_1 : k_2$  exists and makes no distinction in his alphabet. But, No. 25, p. 2 Fn., "Me 'kher' yanî mirovê ko nabihîze, bi vî awayî nivîsand, da ko ji 'kerê' heywan bête veqetan(d)in. Ji xwe ev 'kh' ji ya din stûrtir e." I.e. "We have written kher 'deaf' in this manner to differentiate it from ker, the animal. This kh is by nature thicker than the other." The choice of letters is unfortunate as /kar/ 'donkey' has the aspirate and /kaṛ/ 'deaf' the unaspirated (thick = emphatic ?) k. Nevertheless the opposition appears to exist in (?) Bōtānī.

(d) No. 4, p. 9. "On pourrait noter ce son au moyen du (ë), comme dans les mots (pëz پێز) et (sëd سەد) ..; avec la dictée arabe, on pourrait peut-être rendre ces sons en durcissant les consonnes et en écrivant (ص, پيط)." "Nous avons constaté, d'autre part, la même variante de prononciation dans des mots empruntés à l'arabe. ësquer, ëreb, ëlî." (I.e. /'askar, 'arab, 'alî/.) CABX is writing of his own pronounciation "en tant qu'originaire de Botan". As he attributes the difference in pronounciation of these and like words to an insignificant variation in the vowel alone, a distinction of the consonant values s, s; t, t; z, z; and ' is not observed in his alphabet.

It is reasonable to assume from these notes concerning

the debatable phonemes /ô, û; u; k, ḳ &c.; s, z &c./ that the Hakārī and Bōtānī dialects have a phonemic system identical with that of the Am. - Zx. dialects (cf. § 154).

Erevan Dialect. (Kd. Fawān)

§ 156. The group of dialects spoken in the Armenian, Georgian and Azerbaijan S.S. Republics have been the subject of the researches of a number of Soviet scholars. Presumably the dialect of the Erevan area, albeit normalized, is the basis of the numerous books, periodicals &c. published in Kd. in that city. These have appeared in a number of scripts, first Latin and more recently modified Cyrillic, but all these scripts have represented one phonemic system, very similar to the Am. (Hak.) dialect. The following observations only need be made.

§ 157. There is no indication that /ô, û/ represent any other sounds than the simple vowels o:, u: respectively.

§ 158. In some texts inter- and post-vocalic /b/ alternates with /v/.

§ 159. The emphatic consonants /t, s, z/ are not marked in any way. Their existence is therefore problematic. In some words the "emphasis" of an initial /t/ in the Zx. dialect appears to be reflected by the "aynation" of the following vowel in Rwn. (v. § 160), e.g.

Zx. tažī, tārī, tāv :: Rwn. téži, téri, tév

§ 160. A series of signs, all modifications of the vowel



/a/ by means of diacritics (é, 'e, e', ä'), has been used to represent some manifestation of an /'/. Discussing this, B.V. Miller describes the sign (op. cit. p. 68, line 21) as indicating "aynation (ajnacij) of a vowel or an ayn following it", later, however, (ibid. p. 69, line 11) as "simply an initial vowel with Presstimme". Thus the sign appears to be ambiguous, é &c. representing initially /' + vowel/ and medially /vowel + '/, though there may be exceptions even to this. For the present therefore the /'/' may be written over the vowel in transliteration, thus /táži, tári, táv/.

Compare further Sokolova ("Novyje svedenija po fonetike iranskix jazykov", Ir. Jaz. II, p. 14, line 15), "Turkmen Kurdish has not the upper-pharyngeal articulation which is a characteristic of Armenian Kurdish and there apparently forms a pharyngealized a (a<sub>h</sub>) in place of an etymological ε."

Neither writer appears to consider /'/' as a "segmental", consonant phoneme.

Miller (op. cit. p. 68) observes that the Kurds of Azerbaijan replace (é) by (h), e.g. érd > hêrd 'earth'.

§ 161. A distinction is made in all Rwn. publications between two voiceless alveolar affricates, represented by various modifications of one sign, e.g. c : ċ, ɥ : 'ɥ. The description given by Miller (op. cit. p. 71 ff.) is meaningless, but one can infer from his comparison with Armenian that the modified symbol (ċ, 'ɥ) represents an ejective tʃ'.  
---

Sokolova (Očerki, I, p. 71) quotes Cukerman simply, "č - pharyngalized". Adjarian ("Recueil de mots kurdes en dialecte de Novo-Bayazet", MSL.16 of 1910) marked only an aspirated (č̣) and an unaspirated (č) affricate, the latter being an ejective in E. Armenian.

The ejective can be represented phonemically as /č̣/, and the simple affricate, which is presumably aspirated as in all other Kd. dialects, as /č̣/.

### Phonemic system.

§ 162. The Rwn. group of dialects may be assumed, therefore, to have the following system of 8 vowel, 2 semi-vowel and 29 consonant phonemes :

ī	i	u	ū
ē		ō	
	a	ā	
q,		h, ḥ, (ʻ),	
ḳ, k, g,		x, γ,	
č̣, č, j,		š, ž,	y,
ṭ, t, d, n, s, z, l, r, ʔ,			
p̣, p, b, m, f, v,			w.

### Shaikhan and Dohuk Dialects. (Kd. šēxān, dahōk)

§ 163. The Shn. and Dhk. dialects have a phonemic system identical with that of Ak. (v. § 149). The only phonetic difference is in the realization of /ō, ū/ as the simple

vowels o:, a half-close, and u: a close back vowel.

### Other northern Kurdish Dialects.

§ 164. It is impossible to give a sufficient phonetic, still less phonemic, description of any of the remaining northern Kd. dialects from the published material available.

§ 165. Xālidi, writing in Mutiki, a few miles west of Bitlis, comes as near as the Arabic alphabet permits to giving a complete picture of the phonemic system of this (Bitlīsī) dialect.

A distinction between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless plosives is not made, nor is /r/ specially marked. On this subject, however, cf. the note (op. cit. p. 208) s.v. ك, "kar, 'donkey' and 'deaf' and 'loan' and 'piece', and the Kurds have slight differences in their pronunciations of these words, according to the meanings given, which none but they can arrive at and it is not possible to describe them here." Cf. Zx. /kar/ 'donkey', /kaṛ/ 'deaf', /kar/ 'piece', but /qar/ 'loan'.

The emphatics /t̤, s̤, z̤/ and /ʔ/ all appear, described exactly as in the Ak., Am. &c. dialects.

It is justifiable to assume then that the Bitlīsī dialect has a phonemic system identical with the Am. - Zx. dialects (v. § 154) with the reservation that /ɔ̄, ū/ are pronounced simply as o:, u: respectively.

§ 166. The Bedir-Xan alphabet is designed, not to reproduce

the pronunciation of any one dialect, but rather to give the "highest common factor" of all northern Kd. dialects. It presents the following system of 8 vowels, 2 semi-vowels and 23 consonants :

ī	i		u	ū		BX.	î	i		u	û	
	ē			ō				ê			o	
		a		ā					e		a	
q,			h,	<u>h</u> ,			q,			h,	ḧ,	
k,	g,		x,	γ,			k,	g,		x,	ḡ,	
č,	ǰ,		š,	ž,	y,		ç,	c,		ş,	j,	y,
t,	d,	n,	s,	z,	l, r, (r̄),		t,	d,	n,	s,	z, l, r, (rr),	
p,	b,	m,	f,	v,	w.		p,	b,	m,	f,	v,	w.

Hadank (op. cit. p. 26) found the opposition r : Ṛ in the dialect of Dērik, some 25 miles west of Mardin. His informant Qadrī Jān, moreover, was resident in Damascus and secretary to Celadet Alî Bedir-Xan. On the other hand he considers (ibid. p. 22) /ʕ, ḥ/ to be foreign to three widely separated Western (i.e. northern) Kd. dialects. His thesis that only Kurds who have lived long with Arabs and who know Arabic can utter these sounds is clearly refuted by their appearance in Bitlīs and even Georgia (v. §§ 160, 165).

#### § 167. Index of Phonemes.

References to paragraphs. Over.

	Sul.	War.	Piž.	Arb.	Ak.	Am.	Rwn.
/a/	7	63	=	=	111	=	=
/ā/	8	=	=	=	112	=	=
/b/	36	69	= 36	=	127	=	(158)
/č/	49	=	84 /č/	97 /č/	139	=	=
/ĉ/							161
/d/	12, 32, 33	68	81	=	124	=	=
/ḍ/		70					
/ē/	5, 18	62	76	=	110	=	=
/f/	54	=	=	=	145	=	=
/g/	27, 29	=	80	=	121	=	=
/ǧ/		67, 70					
/γ/	46	=	=	=	136	=	=
/h/	42	=	=	=	132	=	=
/ḥ/	43	=	=	98	133	=	=
/i/	4	61	=	=	109	=	=
/ī/	3	=	=	=	108	=	=
/j/	50	=	84 /j/	97 /j/	140	=	=
/k/	26, 29	=	80	=	120	=	=
/ḳ/						148	=
/l/	38	=	=	=	129	=	=
/ḷ/	39	=	=	(96)			
/m/	37	=	=	=	128	=	=
/n/	34	=	79, 83	=	125	=	=
/ŋ/	28, 29	=					
/o/	9, 18	64	=	=	114 /ô/	=	157 /ô/

	Sul.	War.	Piž.	Arb.	Ak.	Am.	Rwn.
/ʊ/	6	=	77	(94)			
/p/	35	=	=	=	126	=	=
/p̥/						152	=
/q/	25	=	=	=	119	=	=
/r/	40	=	=	=	130	=	=
/r̥/	41	=	=	=	131	=	=
/s/	51	=	=	=	141	=	=
/s̥/	(52)				142	=	(159)
/š/	47	=	=	=	137	=	=
/t/	30, 31	71	81	=	122	=	=
/t̥/						152	=
/t̪/					123	=	(159)
/u/	10	=	=	=	113	=	=
/u̥/	11	65	=	=	115 /û/	= 151	157 /u̥/
/v/	55	=	=	=	146	=	158
/w/	15, 21	66, 70	=	=	116, 118	=	=
/x/	45	=	=	=	135	=	=
/y/	14, 20	=	=	=	116, 117	=	=
/z/	53	=	=	=	143	=	=
/z̥/					144	=	(159)
/ž/	48	=	=	=	138	=	=
/ʎ/	44	=	=	98	134	=	160
Consonant groups.							
	56, 57	72	85	=	147, 148	153	
Phonemic system.							
	58	74	87	99	149	154	162



### Stress and Intonation.

§ 168. Under the conditions in which the material here described was recorded it was found impossible to obtain sufficient data for a satisfactory description of the features of stress and intonation. Even the texts recorded on magnetized tape are often uttered in an abnormal, stylized manner.

As these features have no direct relevance to morphological description they are treated only incidentally and insofar as they affect the orthography adopted for each dialect. This may, therefore, require some modification in the light of a full "prosodic" description.

The punctuation employed in the texts is, in part at least, conventional and no final statement concerning types of juncture is intended.

### Secondary Contact.

§ 169. (a) In all Kd. dialects final consonants are particularly unstable. There is a strong tendency for a final voiced plosive or fricative to be devoiced in pause or in contact with a voiceless consonant, e.g.

Sul. /la bar kird,/	k'ɛft,
/sarī barz kirdawa/	baɾs k'--
/wakū sag sar/	ʒak saɾ
/gurj hamām/	gUɛtʃ h'--
/sad pōlīs/	ʒat p'--

Ak.	/az xulām/	ʔas x--
	/tô čituv hākīmī/	ʃt'Uf h--
	/xô hižānd./	hɪʒa:nt.
	/qalabāliṽ ô watuv./	wat'Uf.

In one borderline case, the form Ak. &c. -av (§ 293.a, so written in the light of the general form -(a)va), a voiced consonant is regularly devoiced in contact with a following nasal or lateral, e.g.

Ak.	/bidav min/	bɪdaf'mɪn
	/čôv lālī/	tʃu:f la:li:

(b) To a lesser extent a final voiceless plosive or fricative may be voiced in contact with a voiced consonant or a vowel, e.g.

Sul.	/pāšāyak abē/	pa:ʃ a:ʒeg a'bɛ:
	/amaṇay hōš bū/	ho:ʒ'bu:
	/agar šēt nīt/	ʃɛ:d'ni:t
Bin.	/awīš dē/	a'wi:ʒ de:
	/bas malikšā/	baz m--
	/bē-kayf nīm/	be:k'ɛiv'ni:m
Ak.	/dast dā/	daz da:
	/ammā p wī/	amma: bwɪ: 1)
Am.	/gôšt žē/	gu:ʒ <sup>d</sup> ʒe:

++ Fn. This example is exceptional. The Ak. &c. prepositions p, t and the modal prefix t- (§§ 274.a, 294) are so normalized, rather than b, d, d-, because of the appearance of the voiceless consonant in

contexts where a voiced consonant would normally be preserved, e.g.

Ak.	/p laz/	p <sup>h</sup> 'laz
	/t dilē xôdā/	t <sup>h</sup> 'dɪl
	/tēnī tbim/	t'e:'ni:tbɪm
	/az tnivīsim/	ast <sup>h</sup> 'n'vi:sɪm
	/azē tnivīsim/	aze:tnɪ'vi:sɪm

(c) In secondary contact occasioned by the loss of an unstressed /i/ (v, § 4.c, 109) a voiced consonant is generally assimilated to a voiceless consonant, whether it precedes or follows, e.g.

Sul. &c.	/kāsibī/	ka:s'pi:
War.	/tōskē/ <	/tōzikē/
Ak. &c.	/či bikayn/	'tʃɪpk'ain
	/bēžitav xô/	be:ʃt'af xu:

There are, however, exceptions, e.g.

Sul.	/rāwžgār/	/rāw-ū-šikār/
------	-----------	---------------

(d) There are certain, very rare, examples of the assimilation of a consonant to another with which it is not in direct contact, e.g.

Bin.	/ɣabar < xabar/
Bin., Muk.	/kutī < gutī/

+

+

+

## PART II.

Dialects of Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk., Arb., Rdz. &amp; Xoš..

## MORPHOLOGY.

Nouns.Definition and Number.

§ 170. (a) In Sul., War. the simple noun, formally singular, may have a generic or indefinite plural sense, e.g.

Sul.	1	řūy kirda šāx ū kēw	- he set out for the mountains
		---	---
	10	kuř ... řōīštin	- the lads went
		---	
	49	sarī binīām	- men's heads
		---	-----
War.	118	lagař řařīqim	- with my friends
		-----	

(b) In the Sor. dialects and Muk. the same is true of a formally singular noun, be it in the direct or oblique case (v. § 177), e.g.

Bin.	312	tařayān bō drust dakāt	- he makes traps for them
		-----	
Piž.	-	dastītān bišōn	- wash your hands
		-----	
Muk.	83, 37	šēx nārdyān	- the sheikhs sent ..
		---	
	§ 12	šērī dabē bikūžin	- you must kill lions
		-----	

More frequently, however, the morpheme -ān is present to indicate indefinite plurality (cf. § 174.a).

§ 171. (a) In Sul., War., all Sor. & Muk. the suffix -(a)ká serves to define a noun, e.g.

Sul.	11	xalqaka wutyān	- the people said
		---	
	26	šitaka abē ba 'ayba	- the matter will become a
		---	(shame)

(b) Following a consonant, a semi-vowel (i.e. a diphthong)

or the diphthongal vowel /ö/ the suffix -aka is added directly to the noun, e.g.

Sul. - pyāwaka, šawaka, gōaka - the man, night, ear

Following the vowels /ē, a, ā, ō/ the suffix generally takes the form -ka, e.g.

Sul. - ēwāraka, kābrāka - the evening, fellow

War. - dēka, ǰōka - the village, barley

Muk. § 9 angustīlaka, āyāka - the ring, agha

In Bin., Piž., however, an euphonic -y- may appear before the suffix, thus -yaka, e.g.

Bin. - sayaka, dē(y)aka, āyāyaka - the dog, village, agha

(Note. E's rule, that euphonic -y- is inserted before the suffix after /ā, ē, ō/ in monosyllables and always after /ö/, is intended as a normalization and does not accord with any one dialect.)

The suffix -aka commonly coalesces with the preceding vowels /ī, ū/ (cf. § 18.b), e.g.

Sul. - xānūaká > xānwaká > xānōká - the house

12 qāpīaká > qāpyaká > qāpēká - the gate

Muk. § 9 ǰūānū<sup>w</sup>aká, ǰūānwaka - the foal

§ 172. (a) In Sul., War., all Sor. & Muk. the suffix -á also defines a noun.

In Sul. it is used in narrative with known characters or things, e.g.

Sul. 30 gurzēkī dā ba xānūa - he struck the (said) house  
a blow with his mace

Sul. 59 dāpīra - the old woman (in question)

This usage is less common in the other dialects, but occurs,  
e.g.

Muk. 10,6 žūa - the Jew

(Note. E. states (quoted by myself, BSOAS.16.541),

"Alternative but rarer forms of the definite article are the suffixes -a for masculine and feminine and -ē for the feminine; this form is commonly used with adjectives or adjectival phrases used as nouns." Examples given are

Sul. E. sawzē - the fair-haired girl

pūrē - the aunt

čāw-ba-xumārē - the girl with sparkling eyes

This form -ē is, in fact, exclusively a vocative, or hypocoristic, ending (cf. § 178.a).)

(b) The main function of the suffix -a is to appear in conjunction with the demonstrative adjectives (v. § 188).

In Sul. a noun or nominal phrase (v. § 182.b) qualified by a demonstrative adjective always takes the suffix -a, e.g.

Sul. 9 aw dašta - that plain

**32** am kiča - this girl

37 am quwat ū harakata - this power and vigour

In War. very occasionally -a is not realized after  
--  
a noun so qualified, e.g.

War.218 am šōrat ū nāw-ī bīst - he heard of this fame

This is perhaps simple error.

In Bin., Piž., Muk. a noun qualified by the simple



demonstrative adjective takes the suffix -a, except when the adjective itself has the feminine oblique or plural endings (cf. § 188.b).

In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. a noun qualified by a demonstrative adjective generally takes the suffix -a, but not invariably, e.g.

Arb.435 aw brāyān-ī min - those brothers of mine

Xoš.443 law bīšay - in that thicket (v.(d) below)

Frequently the suffix -aka appears in this context, e.g.

Arb.437 aw brāyaka - that brother

and, with both suffixes,

Arb.421 aw jōkaya - that Jew (v.jū-aka-<sup>y</sup>a)

There is insufficient evidence to establish what conditions affect the construction.

(c) The suffix -a is added directly to the simple noun, except in War., where it follows any other suffix, be it a personal pronoun suffix (§ 193), the adverbial suffix -īš (v. § 234.b) or the enclitic form of the substantive verb (v. § 203.a)<sup>1)</sup>, e.g.

War.200 aw bağzāda-yš-a - that begzade also

281 'āidī aw 'arab-im-a - I belong to that Arab

224 am kuř-im-a - this my son

contrast, respectively,

Sul. - am dū kič-a-š - these two girls also

- 'āidī aw 'arab-a-m - I belong to that Arab

25 am čwār kuř-a-y - these his four sons

++ Fn. Cf. also § 196.a.Fn.

(d) Following the vowels /a, ā, ō/ an euphonic -y- is normally realized before the suffix -a, e.g.

Sul. 1 am pāšāya	- this king
Bin. 300 am qsaya	- this talk
Muk. § 10 aw xulāya	- that God
Arb. 421 aw cākaya	- that good deed

In Muk. (? Xoš., cf. (b) above), however, the suffix coalesces with a preceding /a/, e.g.

Muk. 9,9 aw angustīla-m dawē - I want that ring<sup>1)</sup>  
contrast,

Sul. - aw amustīlaya-m awē - do.  
(Xoš. 443 aw bīša - that thicket (bīša))

++ Fn. See § 214.

§ 173. (a) The suffixes Sul., War., Bin., Piž. -ē(k); Muk. -ēk; Rdz. -ēk, -ak; Arb., Xoš. -ak give the noun an indefinite sense, or one of unity, e.g.

Sul. 1 mamlakātēk	- a country
2 šártēk akayn	- we shall make a bond
5 yákēk	- someone
Muk. 5,33 wūrčēk	- a bear
Arb. 414 rōžak pāšāyak xawnak-ī dīt	- one day a king saw (a dream)

The forms -ē, -ēk alternate freely except, with E., "when followed immediately by the enclitic pronominal adjective, the Izafe, the conjunction ū or the enclitic present tense of the verb 'to be'", when -ēk alone is



Muk. § 11 mēšēk - a thicket (mēša)

The latter may be a mistaken hearing of -ā<sup>y</sup>ak (cf. Muk. 11,6 hēnānawa 'they brought back', for hēnāyānawa) but Mokri, Song 383 also has Muk. jōgēk 'a stream' (jōga). Mann himself has normalized for publication, e.g.

Muk. 2,35 lā dē<sup>y</sup>ēk - in a village, for MS lā dēāk, cf. Bin. 307 dēak.

In Arb., Rdz., Xoš. following /a, ā/ an euphonic -y- appears before -ak, thus -yak, e.g.

Arb. 419 hōdayak - a room

or, following /a/, the suffix may appear as -k, e.g.

Arb. 441 kundak šīr - a skin (full) of milk

Xoš. 443 bīšak - a thicket

Following /ī/ the suffix **may coalesce** with the preceding vowel, giving -ēk (cf. § 18.b), e.g.

Arb. 427 grānēk - a famine (grānī)

(c) A noun qualified by an indefinite or interrogative adjective (v. § 187) commonly takes the suffix -ē(k), -ak and may have a plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 8 či kičēk .. či kičē - whichever girl

18 čaŋ wazīrēk - some viziers

Muk. § 11 čand dēwēk - some demons

hamū kārēk - all affairs

Arb. 421 či xawnak - what (sort of) dream

In conjunction with the numeral yak (v. § 189) a number of irregular contractions occur, e.g.

War.252 yēkyān (cf. Sul. yakēkyān) - one of them

Bin.308, Arb.436 har yaka (cf. Sul. har yakē) - each one

§ 174. (a) The morpheme -ān indicates plurality. In its absence a noun may still have an indefinite plural sense (cf. §§ 170, 173.c, 182.b). Conversely an indefinite plural noun may take the ending -ān,<sup>1)</sup> and in all Sor. & Muk. generally does so, e.g.

Sul. - pašīmānān šāxyān lē biṛwāya - if horns were to  
grow on those with regrets

Bin. - la qsāndā - in talking (qsa)  
367 astērān muwāfiqin - the stars are favourable  
Piž.409 la binyādamān - from men  
Muk. § 25 birāyān - brothers

A noun qualified by an indefinite or interrogative adjective (v. § 187) may take the ending -ān, which then precedes the suffix -ē(k) (cf. § 173.c), e.g.

Sul. 4 čaṇ kasānēk - some persons  
War.209 bāzē xalqān - some people  
++ En. Cf. § 233.a.

(b) The ending -ān coalesces with preceding /a/, e.g.

Sul. E. am ǰōgāna - these streams (ǰōga)  
Piž.399 law qsāna - these matters (qsa)

In Sul. following /ā/ (not, with E., "any other final vowel") an euphonic -y- precedes the ending, thus -yān, e.g.

Sul. E. am brāyāna - these brothers  
Piž. - la hartik lāyāndā - on both sides

In Sor. & Muk., however, the ending -ān may coalesce with preceding /ā/, e.g.

Muk. § 25, Fn. 1. malān, malāyān - mullahs (malā)

Arb.415 aw brāna - those brothers (brā)

(c) In Sul., War. a noun qualified by a cardinal number (v. § 190) does not normally take the ending -ān, e.g.

Sul. 16 dū rōž āya sē rōž - two or three days

21 lam haw kuṛay sē kuṛyān - three of these seven  
sons of his

44 sē čwār šaw - three or four nights

War.194 dū sē haywān - two or three animals (haywān)

In all Sor. & Muk., however, a noun so qualified commonly does take the plural ending, e.g.

Bin.340 bīst ū čwār sa'ātān - twenty-four hours

352 aw sē darkāna - those three doors (darka)

Piž.385 sē rōžān - three days

402 dagał da nafarān - with ten men

Muk. § 48 čwār kuṛān - four boys

In Rdz. in this context the plural ending appears as -ā (cf. Ak. &c. -ā(n), § 255.b), e.g.

Rdz.491 sē rōžā - three days

493 sē saḥātā - three hours

§ 175. (a) The morpheme -ān normally appears in conjunction with the defining suffix -aká (§ 171) with which it coalesces yielding -akān, e.g.

Sul. 4 brākānim - my brothers

Sul.107 wuḷāxakāntān	- your horses
-----	
War.244 karakān	- the donkeys
-----	
Piž.382 šitilakān	- the plants
-----	
Muk. 25 aspakān	- the horses
-----	

(b) When the noun is qualified by a demonstrative adjective (v. § 188) the morpheme -ān precedes the defining suffix -á (§ 172), thus -āná, e.g.

Sul. 10 am āsikāná	- these gazelles
-----	
78 am kičāna	- these girls
-----	
War.189 am čamāna	- these streams
-----	
Piž.382 aw šitilāna	- these plants
-----	

In Arb., Rdz., Xoš., however, with the grouping  
aw ...-aká (cf. § 172.b), regularly the form -akān occurs, e.g.

Xoš.451 law wazīrakān	- of those viziers
-----	

### Gender and Case.

§ 176. (a) In Sul., War. there are no inflective morphemes, and hence no distinction, of grammatical gender or case.

In the system of Vocative endings, however, a distinction of natural gender is observed (v. § 178). Otherwise the uninfllected noun appears in all syntactic contexts.<sup>1)</sup>

++ Fn. The ending -ā with certain noun forms is not a case ending but an enclitic postposition (v. § 230.b).

(b) In all Sor. & Muk. a distinction of two grammatical genders is observed, viz. Masculine and Feminine. This distinction is manifest in the inflective Oblique case



morphemes (v. § 177.b)<sup>1)</sup> and, in Bin., Piž. only, in the Izafe forms (v. § 180.a).

As in Sul., War. a distinction of natural gender is observed in the vocative endings.

Where a noun has natural gender the grammatical gender coincides with this. Otherwise it is arbitrary.

++ Fn. In the case of Muk. (discussed by Mann, Muk. §§ 12 - 14) the distinction was first demonstrated in BSOAS.16.539 ff.

§ 177. (a) All Sor. & Muk. present a declensional system of two cases, Direct and Oblique, in addition to the partial system of Vocative forms (q.v. § 178).

The functions of the Direct case are as a noun :

- i) Subject of a sentence or clause,
- ii) Logical Direct Object of a sentence or clause in the Agential construction (v. § 220).

The functions of the Oblique case are as a noun :

- i) Direct Object of a sentence or clause,
- ii) (in Sor. only) Agent of a sentence or clause in the Agential construction (v. § 218),
- iii) governed by a preposition,
- iv) following another noun with the Izafe (v. § 181) or Demonstrative Izafe (v. § 184),
- v) used adverbially.<sup>1)</sup>

There is a tendency throughout for the Direct case form to replace the Oblique case form in all its functions,

but to a varying degree.

A noun in the Oblique case when followed by the Izafe (v. § 179) does not take Oblique case endings. The Izafe is enclitic to the uninflected noun.

++ Fn. The examples at Muk. § 18 fall rather under category (iii). But cf. § 234.a.

(b) A noun in its simplest form is in the Direct case.

The Oblique case is marked by the addition to the singular noun of the morphemes, Masculine  $-\bar{\imath}$ , Feminine  $-\bar{e}$ . Plural nouns in  $-\bar{a}n$  have no separate Oblique form. Thus :

	Sg.M.	F.	Pl.M & F.
Dir.	$-\emptyset$	$-\emptyset$	) $-(ak)\bar{a}n$
Obl.	$-\bar{\imath}$	$-\bar{e}$	

Following /a/ the Sg.M.Obl. ending appears as  $-y$ , e.g.  
Bin.315 šařay bikā - (who) might do battle

Very rarely  $-ay$  appears to be reduced to  $-\bar{e}$  (cf. § 76).

The Sg.F.Obl. ending  $-\bar{e}$  coalesces with preceding /a/ yielding  $-\bar{e}$ , e.g.

Bin. - bō qalādzē - for Qala Diza

308 ba qsē-tān - according to your words (qsa)

Following /ā/ the ending  $-\bar{e}$  may appear as  $-ya$  (cf. § 18.b),  
e.g. Muk.1,28 bō qal'āya, 2,14 la qal'āyē, in MS both qalāyā.

When a noun is followed by any of the suffixes of definition  $-\bar{a}k\acute{a}$  (§ 171),  $-\bar{a}$  (§ 172),  $-\bar{e}k$ ,  $-\bar{a}k$  (§ 173) the Oblique case ending is  $-\bar{\imath}$ ,  $-y$  for both genders. Thus :

Sg. M &amp; F.

Dir.	-aka,	-a,	-ēk / -ak
Obl.	-akay,	-ay,	-ēkī / -akī

(c) Examples of the Oblique case as :

i) Direct Object,

Bin.	- jūtī dakayn	- we plough (jūt M.)
	- nwēžē dakan	- they pray (nwēž F.)
	- hikāyatēkī dagēřimawa	- I shall tell a story (hikāyat ? F.)
	316 mamlakatī .. tēk bidā	- destroy the country (mamlakat M.)
Muk.4,8	āwē nafrōšē	- should not sell water (āw F.)

ii) Agent (v. § 218),

Bin.319	žinakay pēy gut	- the woman said to him (žin F.)
320	pēy gut, patrūsyāy	- Patrusya said to them (P-ā M.)
327	xwāy .. hātā kird	- God gave .. (xwā M.)
341	arsalānī .. šīrēkī gayāndē	- Arsalan struck him
		with a sword (Arsalān M.)
348	-y qsa kird .. nahmānī	- Nu'mān said (Nahmān M.)

iii) governed by a preposition,

Bin.319	ba dim āwē	- at the water's edge (āw F.)
349	ba sūrānawē	- (began) to drive (sūrānawa,
		all infinitives F.)
353	la éi rōžēkī-dā	- on whatever day (rōž F.)
Piž.398	bō xātirī žinakay	- for the woman (žin F.)
Muk.59,7	ba kāka mamī	- to Brother Mam (Mam M.)
6,21	ba arzē-dā	- to the earth )
Bin.312	la 'arzī	- from the earth ) ('arz M/F.)

Muk.7,18 la rēa	- on the road	} (rē F.)
Bin.300 la rēē	- do.	

iv) following the Izafe or Demonstrative Izafe,

Bin. - lapī dastī	- palm of the hand (dast M.)
- zīnī aspī	- saddle of the horse (asp M.)
- zīnī māīnē	- saddle of the mare (māīn F.)
304 ī bāxawānakay	- the gardener's (bāxawān M.)
346 'ašqī aw kičay	- in love with that girl (kič F.)
357 bargī qāwačētīē	- clothes of the coffee-sellers'
	calling (all abstract nouns in -ī F.)

Muk.1,15 mīwānī darwēšēkī	- guest of a dervish (darwēš M.)
147,14 āwī daznōžē	- ablution water (daznōž F.)
Arb.425 la panāy dārakī	- under a tree (dār F.)

v) adverb.

Muk.3,4 nīwašawē	- at midnight (šaw F.)
3,29 qadirēkī	- for a while (qadir ? F.)

§ 178. (a) Nouns denoting animate beings may take the following endings in the vocative, with a shift of stress where possible :

Sg.M. -a,	Sg.F. -ē,	Pl.M & F. -īna
---	---	-----

The Sg.M. -a is not, however, attested in Sor.

Examples. Masculine.

Sul. - kúřa	- lad !
- kōra, čīt awē	- blind man, what do you want ?
52 ay xwāya	- O God !
Muk.20,9 abdālbaga	- O Abdal Beg !

## Feminine.

- Sul. - pūrē - aunt !  
 - būkē, lagaḷ tōma - bride, I am addressing ~~thee~~ <sup>thee</sup>  
 (but, xasū, göt lē bē - mother-in-law (xāsū), ~~pay~~ <sup>pay</sup> <sup>thou</sup> heed  
 Piž.409, Muk.100,31 xúškē - sister !

## Plural.

- Sul. - žinīna - women !  
 Sul., Muk.188,28 kúrīna - lads !  
 Bin.326 ay wazīrayna - O viziers ! (Note -ayna)  
 Muk.97,28 xizmīna - kinsmen !  
 150,29 faqēna - students ! (Note -na)

++ Fn. The same endings appear with hypocoristic names  
 (cf. § 172.a.Note, 256.a.Fn.), e.g.

Miča 'Mustafā', Qāla 'Qādir', Xula 'Mahmūd',  
 Raša 'Rašīd'; Fātē 'Fātima', Xaḡē 'Xadīja'.

(b) The uninflected noun may equally appear as a vocative,  
 e.g. xasū 'mother-in-law !' (v.(a) above).

A vocative preceded by the particle ay is normally  
 uninflected, e.g.

- Sul. 3 ay āfrat - O wife !  
 21 áy kuṛ - O lads !

Similarly a noun qualified by an adjective or a  
 personal pronoun suffix (v. § 194) takes no vocative  
 ending, e.g.

- Sul. 4 brākānim - my brothers !  
 8 bāba gyān - father dear !

Sul. 12 dāya gyān

- mother dear !

21 kuḥim

- my laḍs !

The -y (? -ī) in War. 230 kuḥī lālay 'cousin !' (literally 'maternal uncle's (lāla) son', but addressed to a girl for ? politeness) is extraordinary.

In Muk. a plural vocative is formed with the word gal, joined with the Izafe to a following word taking -ān, e.g. Muk. 24,3 gālī jūān mērān (so in MS) - O youths !

### Izafe.

§ 179. All Kd. dialects possess particles the functions of which are mainly analogous to those of the New Persian izāfa. These particles will be called generally Izafe.

The Izafe has three main functions :

- i) to connect a noun with a qualifying word which follows it, be it an attributive adjective, a noun or pronoun in genitive relation to it or in apposition (v. § 181, 182),
- ii) to connect certain adjectives and nouns to their complements (v. § 183),
- iii) as a relative pronoun with a definite antecedent (v. § 237.b).

§ 180. (a) The Izafe has the following forms :

Sul., War., Arb., Xoš.      ī,

Bin., Piž., ? Muk. (despite Muk. § 20, Fn.)

General (following M & F., Sg. & Pl. nouns)      ī,

Sg.F. only,      ē, e.g.

Muk. 30,4 xātūnē nawjwāna      - O fair young lady !

Muk.31,1 (in MS) xuškē mīr zēndīnim - I am Mir Z's sister

There is a tendency for the general form *ī* to supplant the F. *ē*, e.g.

Bin. - mālē ma - our house (māl F.)

but - māli āšnāy ma - our friend's house

Very rarely the form *ē* appears with a masculine noun, e.g.

Bin.363 nēwē xōšit - thine own name (nēw M.)

Rdz.

*ī* / *ē*, without distinction of gender, e.g.

Rdz. - bābī/ē min - my father (bāb M.)

473 nēcīrē xō - (my) own prey (nēcīr F.)

474 nēcīrī tū - thy prey

Note. There is a trace of a former wider distribution of the Feminine Izafe form *ē* in the following isolated, but regular, form :

Sul. 56 pīrē žin - old woman

(but - pīramērd - old man)

(b) The general form *ī* appears as *y* following a vowel.

Following /*ī*, *y*/ it is not realized (cf. § 18.c), e.g.

Sul. 2 kābrāy rīšspī - grey-bearded fellow

Bin.327 la xōšī awa - for joy of that (xōšī)

The form *ē* coalesces with preceding /*a*/, e.g.

Bin.337 tōlē bābī xōm - revenge for my father (tōla F.)

In Muk. (Muk. § 20, end), Rdz. the Izafe may appear as *-(y)a* following a vowel, e.g.

Rdz.478 brāya xō - own brother



Rdz.484 kursīa min - my seat

(c) In Bin., Piž. & Muk. with an antecedent formally singular but with plural sense, or with two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction ū, w 'and', the Izafe form I may be followed by a particle da, thus I da, e.g.

Bin.314 wazīrī da min - my viziers

319 pyāwī da pāšā .. ōn - the king's men went

349 dāk ū bābī da tō - thy mother and father

Piž.404 la tirsī da S. - from fear of S. (cf. § 233.a)

404 pēy da S. - feet of S.

411 jarg ū sī daw kuṛaya - that boy's liver and lights (v. § 230.c.Fn.)

Muk.50,12 ama yarībīn, lawānī da bēgāna - we are strangers,  
of those who are foreign

63,15 dankī da hanārē - pomegranate seeds

63,25 guḷī da sōsinē - lily flowers

107,8 gōšay da maydānē - corners (not corner) of  
the field

136,22 la hartik čāwī da tū - from both thy eyes

++ Fn. Cf. Ak. &c. -ē(t), § 258.a.

§ 181. (a) When a noun, defined or otherwise, is qualified by an attribute or by another noun (cf. § 179.i) these follow the noun qualified and are normally joined to it by the Izafe, e.g.

i) Attribute,

Sul. 5 kābrāyaki fīšspī - a grey-bearded fellow

7 māmay fīšspī - the grey-bearded 'uncle'

Sul. 69 tūtikēkī pičkōla - a little dog

ii) Genitive noun or pronoun (v. § 177.a),

Sul. 43 xānūy ēma - our house

49 sarī binīām - men's heads

55 xizmakārī wulāxakat - thy horse's servant

69 mālī kičī islāmšāy parīān - the house of the  
daughter of Islam Shah of the Peris

War.188 kāsibī mālī xōmān - the work of our own house

Bin.318 žinē malikšāy - Malikshah's wife

Piž.384 čaqāndinē šitilakān - the planting of the seedlings

394 kafīlīē aḥmadī - bail for Ahmed

iii) Appositional noun.

Sul. 9 tawqēkī āltūn - a collar of gold

War.188 minālī rāfīqim - the children, my friends

199 zalāmī sāhēwī jūtakān - men (who are) owners of  
a plough and pair (of oxen)

++ Fn. In War. the Izafe is occasionally omitted, even  
before an attribute, e.g.

War.237 dargāy māl bēžin - the door of the widow's house

The majority of such cases are marked by the presence  
of the suffix -ē(k), e.g.

War.200 la šōnē tir - in another place

206 hatā baynē da .. šaw - for a period of some ten (days

(b) A noun may be qualified by more than one attribute.

In this case each attribute may be connected to the foregoing  
by the Izafe or by the conjunction ū, w 'and', e.g.



Sul. 56	ĵūta swār	- a pair of riders (ĵūt)
War.190	kuṛa muxtār	- the headman's son (kuṛ)
204	brā gawraka	- the elder brother (brā)
Muk.24 ff.	kāka mam	- Brother Mam (kāk)
6,6	nīwa lašī	- half of his body (nīw)

(b) It is not possible to specify accurately all the conditions in which each construction may appear. In many cases either construction seems to be possible, e.g.

Sul. 2	bāla gardānī sari	- the wing circling round thy
	--	(head
13	bālī gardānī sari	- do.
	--	

The open compound construction is essential when the qualified noun phrase is defined by either of the suffixes -aká, or -á, e.g.

Sul. 13	am naw'a šitāna	- these sorts of thing (naw')
	-----	
25	am hamū štūmaka ĵwāna	- all this fine stuff (štūmak)
	-----	
39	aw xēwata sawza	- that green tent (xēwat)
	-----	
40	xēwata sawzaka	- the green tent
	-----	
Muk.6,15	bēčūa wurčaka	- the wolf cub (bēčū)
	-----	
25,13	aw dinyā xōša	- this pleasant world (dinyā)
	-----	
Xoš.461	pišta wurāyaka	- the horse's back (pišt)
	-----	

The compound may also take the suffix -ēk, -ak, e.g.

Sul. E.	čašna āwēnayak	- a kind of mirror (čašn)
	-----	
E.	kilka karēk	- a donkey's tail (kilk)
	-----	
Muk.174,24	gaza ĵāwēk	- an ell of cotton cloth (gaz)
	-----	

Without a suffix it may have an indefinite plural sense, e.g.

Sul. 44 brā pičūk .. būn - the younger brothers became ..

§ 183. Certain adjectives and nouns, particularly those forming part of compound verbs (v. § 228), are joined to their complement by the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 7 pišānī ēmat dā<sup>1)</sup> - thou showedst us (pišān dān)

23 pēškašī kuṛay bikay - thou give it to the boy  
(pēškaš kirdin)

66 swārī faxš bū - he mounted his steed (swār būn)

67 tūšī am darda - afflicted by this trouble (tūš<sup>1)</sup>)

Piž.396 taslīmī .. maḥmūdī kird<sup>1)</sup> - he surrendered him to  
Mahmud (taslīm kirdin)

Muk.3,25 xarīkī bazmī dabūn - they would be engaged in  
feasting (xarīk būn)

++ En. Agential construction, v. § 217.

### Demonstrative Izafe.

§ 184. In all Kd. dialects an independent Demonstrative Izafe occurs, related in form to the enclitic Izafe but with different functions.

The Demonstrative Izafe has the following forms

(cf. § 180.a) :

Sul.	hī,
War.	hī(n),
Muk., Arb., Xoš.	ī,
Bin., Piž.	ī, (? ē), ī da (cf. § 180.c),
Rdz.	ī / ē

It may appear before :

- i) a noun or pronoun, to which it gives a possessive meaning, or
- ii) an adjective, giving it a definite, "substantive" sense.

E.g. (i)

Sul.	-	hī brāy min	-	that of my brother, my
		--		(brother's
	-	hī kē	-	whose ?
		--		
	-	hī ēma	-	ours
		--		

War.	-	hīn māṇā	-	the cow's
		---		

199 hī bāwbāpīra gawramāna - it is our ancestors'

200 hī kasēkī wakū F. - that of someone like F.

Bin.333 \*tarbiatī swārīē w ī pālāwānīē - the learning of  
 horsemanship and that of wrestling

379 dastī fā takānd, ī amīršangī - he jerked his hand,  
 that of Amirshang

Muk.242,29 ī xōm la ī tū pitira - mine is bigger than thine

Rdz.501 mārē minīš .. ē brāē minīš - my house .. my brother's  
 (too

(ii)

Sul.	-	hī gawra	-	the big one
		--		
	-	hī šīn	-	the blue one
		--		

Piž.	-	ī da dīšin han	1)	-	we have other ones too
		----			

Muk.212,15 ī gawra .. ī čikōla - the elder .. the younger

Rdz. - ī dī bīna, ī nū - bring another, a new one

++ Fn. A shibboleth phrase containing three particularly

Piž. forms. See also §§ 193 (-in), 212 (han).

## Adjectives.

§ 185. Attributive adjectives, which like predicative adjectives are inflexible, normally follow the noun they qualify, either with the Izafe (§ 181) or in the open compound construction (§ 182).

Adjectives may be employed, in their uninflected form, as adverbs and, with the appropriate inflectional endings, as substantives.

¶ 186. (a) The morpheme -tir added to the simple adjective form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective, e.g.

attributively: Sul. - šāxēkī barztir - a higher mountain

predicatively:        30 am .. jwāntira - this (one) is more  
  ---  (beautiful

adverbially : 47 zūtir ačē - goes quicker

substantively:        45 la min jwāntir - one more beautiful  
  --- (than me)

The only irregularity in the formation of a comparative adjective attested is in Muk. § 32 čātir 'better', from čāk 'good'.

(b) The morpheme -in added to the comparative adjective forms the superlative adjective (cf. also § 191.b). This, unlike the positive and comparative adjectives, immediately precedes the noun it qualifies, e.g.

Sul. - bō āzātīrīn sarbāz - for the bravest soldier

(c) har, combined with another adjective and the noun  
---  
qualified in the open compound construction (§ 182), gives

the adjective a superlative sense, e.g.

Sul. E. qisna hara ĵwānaka - the finest tomb (qisn, ĵwān)

§ 187. (a) Adjectives of the following categories immediately precede the noun they qualify :

- i) the demonstrative adjectives (v. § 188),
- ii) the following interrogative and indefinite adjectives (cf. §§ 173.c, 174.a),

War. bāzē 'some' (Ar. ba'd)

čī 'what(ever), whichever'

War. čan, Sul. čan/ŋ, Sor. & Muk. čand 'how(ever) much, some'

fīān(a), Arb. &c. flān 'such and such'

Sul., War. hīč, Sor. & Muk. also čī<sup>1)</sup> 'any'

hamū, Arb. also hamī 'all, each, every'

har, harčī, harč, hač 'any, whatever'

kam 'few'

kām 'which(ever)'

zōr 'many, much'

but not

ka, tir, dī, dīka, dika 'other'

wā, wahā, awhā, wa, awa 'such'

iii) cardinal numbers (v. § 190),

iv) superlative (§ 186.b) and ordinal adjectives in -īn (v. § 191.b).

++ En. Muk. čī 'any' is probably a mishearing of čī, e.g.

Muk.4,14 čī ĵēm nīa - I have no place,

but 3,34 čī ĵēm nīa - do.



(b) Examples. Interrogative and indefinite adjectives.

War.209	bāzē xalqān	- some people
	-----	(troubled ?
Sul. 2	ba čī dardē giriftārī	- with what ill art thou
	---	
17	la čī šönēkā	- in whichever place
	---	
War.208	čan rīšspīak	- some elders
	----	
Sul. 4	čaŋ .., 8 čan muddatēk	- some time
	-----	
Bin.326	čand 'adadēkī <u>h</u> askar	- some soldiers (cf. § 181.c)
	-----	
Sul. 16	la flāna mawqi'ā	- in such and such place
	-----	
Bin.303	la flān šöndā	- do.
	-----	
Sul. 58	hīč kasēk nāwērē	- nobody dares
	----	
Bin.362	či yadrim .. nakirdūa	- I have not done any harm
	---	
Sul. 13	hamū šitēk	- everything
	-----	
Bin.322	hamū sālēk	- each year
	-----	
War.200	har kasēk	- whoever
	----	
Sul. 11	hač kasēk	- do.
	----	
Bin.318	hač mawqihēk	- wherever
	----	

but,

Sul. -	šitī wā nīa	- there is no such thing
	-----	
-	yakēkī ka	- another one
	-----	

§ 188. (a) Sul., War. have two inflexible demonstrative adjectives, am 'this' and aw 'that'. A noun, singular or plural, qualified by either of these is normally followed by the defining suffix -á (§ 172).

All Sor. & Muk. have only one demonstrative adjective aw 'this, that'. The form am 'this' appears in Bin. under the influence of Sul., e.g.



Numerals.

§ 189.	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Bin., Piž.</u>	<u>Muk.</u>	§ 48.	<u>Rdz., Xoš.</u>	<u>Arb.</u>
1	yak	yak, ēk	yak, yēk	ēk		yak, ēk
2	dū, dūān, dwān	=	=			=
3	sē, syān	=	sē, sēān			=
4	čwār	=	čūār			ćār
5	pēnĵ	=	p <sup>i</sup> ēnĵ			pēnĵ
6	šaš	=	=			=
7	<u>hawt</u> (v. § 71)	=	=			<u>h/</u> 'aft
8	hašt	=	=			=
9	nō	=	=			=
10	da	=	=			=
11	yānza (§ 28)	yāzda	yāz(d)a	yāzda		=
12	dw/ūānza	dwāzda	dūāzda			=
13	syānza	sēzda	=			=
14	čwārda	=	čūārda			ćārda
15	pānza	pāzda	=			=
16	šānza	šāzda	=			=
17	<u>havda</u> (§ 55)	=	<u>hawda</u>			<u>h/</u> 'avda
18	hažda	=	=			=
19	nōzda	=	=			=
20	bīst	=	=			=
21	bīst ū yak	=	=			=
30	sī		=			=
40	čil		=			ćil
50	panĵā		p <sup>i</sup> ēnĵā			pa/ēnĵā



	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Bin., Piž.</u>	<u>Muk.</u>	<u>Rdz., Xoš.</u>	<u>Arb.</u>
60	šast (v. § 52)		šest		=
70	<u>ha</u> ftā		haftā	<u>ha</u> ftā	<u>h</u> /'aftē
80	haštā		haštā/ē		haštē
90	nawad		nowat		nōhat
100	sad (§ 52)		sat		sad
200	dūsad		dū sat		
300	sēsad				
400	čwārsad				
500	pēnsad		pēnsat		
600	šašsad				
700	<u>ha</u> wsad				
800	hašsad				
900	nōsad				
1000	hazār				

1 m. milyōn (v. § 22)

§ 190. (a) Cardinal numbers immediately precede the noun they qualify. In Sul., War. a noun so qualified normally does not, but in all Sor. & Muk. normally does, take the ending -ān (cf. § 174.c).

---  
A cardinal, other than 'one', appearing independently may take the plural ending --ān, e.g.

War. 227 syān bū, čwār bū --- (four  
- (whether) it was three or

---  
237 sālē, dūān - a year or two

---  
Muk. § 48 čūārān, dūāzdān - 4, 12

(b) With certain numbers (generally round numbers - tens,

hundreds &c.) the qualified noun may take the ending <sup>1)</sup> -ī, giving the sense 'about ...', e.g.

Bin.311 tamanī hawt hašt sālī - the age of about 7 or 8 years

Xoš.459 ba qadar bīst wurāyī - to the extent of some twenty  
(horses

++ En. Contrast the adverbial -ī, § 234.c.

(c) The repetition of the cardinal numbers, with or without the plural ending -ān, gives a distributive sense, e.g.

War.197 hamū yaka yaka w dwān dwān ū čwār čwār ačīn - they  
all go by ones and twos and fours

§ 191. (a) Ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the ending -am, e.g.

Sul. - yakam 'first', pēnjam 'fifth', bīstam 'twentieth'

Following /a, ā/ an -h- is realized before the ending  
-am, e.g.

Sul. - yānzaham 'eleventh', panjāham 'fiftieth'

Note. sēam, sēham 'third', nayam, naham 'ninth',  
dayam, daham 'tenth'.

These ordinals follow the qualified noun with the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 47 rēgāy sēham - the third road

(b) The ordinal adjective in -am may further take the ending -īn (cf. § 186.b), e.g.

Sul. - yakamīn 'first', pēnjamīn 'fifth'

also awwalamīn 'first' (Ar. awwal)

With cardinals ending in /a, ā/ this ending normally takes the form -mīn, not \*-hamīn, e.g.

Sul. - šāṇzāham : šāṇzamīn 'sixteenth'  
           haftāham : haftāmīn 'seventieth'

The ordinal adjective in --(a)mīn immediately precedes the noun it qualifies (v. § 187.a.iv), e.g.

Sul. - yakamīn jār                      - the first time

In Rdz., corresponding to the general -amīn, the form -amē occurs. This ordinal form follows the noun qualified (cf. Ak. &c. -ē, § 267), e.g.

Rdz.474 jārī sēamē                      - the third time

### Pronouns.

#### Personal.

§ 192. (a) Sul., War., all Sor. & Muk. present systems of six personal pronouns, each with an independent and a suffix form (q.v. § 193). All Sor. & Muk. have further independent oblique forms for all persons and, in Bin., Piž., one additional person. Thus :

Direct.

	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Bin., Piž.</u>	<u>Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.</u>
Sg.1.	min	amin	amin
2.	tō	atō/ū	atō/ū, <sup>1)</sup> Arb. atū
3.	aw <sup>2)</sup>	(h)aw	aw <sup>3)</sup>
Pl.1.	(h)ēma	ama	ama
2.	ēwa	awa	angō
3.	awān	awān	awān



Oblique.	<u>Bin., Piž.</u>	<u>Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš.</u>
Sg. 1	(a)min	(a)min <sup>5)</sup>
2.	(a)tō/ū	(a)tō/ū, Arb. (a)tū
3. M.	(a)wī )	
3. F.	(a)wē )	(a)wī
Pl. 1.	(a)ma	(a)ma
2.	(a)wa	(a)ngō
3.	(a)wān	(a)wān

## Notes.

1) Mann consistently writes 2. Sg. (a)tū. There is evidence within his texts, however, that this represents, in conformity with the Sor. dialects, (a)tū, e.g. the rhyme at Muk. 136, 19 ff. dūa : atua : tūa : tua.

In all Sor. except Arb. and in Muk. (a)tō and (a)tū alternate freely, regardless of case, e.g.

Bin. 315 šařay lagał tō bikā	- that he fight with thee
321 tō lēy dagařēy	- (whom) thou art seeking
325 atū bō .. hātīawa	- why hast thou returned ?
325 ɣabarim bō tū hēnāwatawa	- I have brought news for (thee)
Muk. 1, 23 atu xalqī köy	- of where art thou a native ?
30, 7 čawī tū (sic)	- thine eyes
6, 29 atōš .. dabam	- I shall take thee too
7, 2 atōš wara	- come thou too !

2) The 3. Sg. independent pronoun is identical in form with the remote demonstrative adjective aw (cf. § 183. a). In Sul., War. the proximate demonstrative adjective form

am may also appear as a 3.Sg. personal pronoun. Both  
 ---  
 forms may also function as 3.Pl. personal pronouns with  
 the ending -ān, thus :

Sg.3.     aw, (am) 'he, she, it', Pl.3. awān, (amān) 'they'

E.g.

Sul. 31 aw gāwira                     - he is an infidel

9 awānīš, 76 amānīš             - they too

3) Mann, Muk. § 37. "Für den Nominativ (3.Sg. pers. pron.)  
 tritt meist das Demonstrativum au ein." But aw is an  
 ---  
 adjectival form of the demonstrative, requiring the noun  
 qualified to take a suffix -á (v. § 188.a), while, as Mann  
 ---  
 rightly states Muk. § 38, "alleinstehend, substantivisch  
 gebraucht, lautet das Pronomen (demonstrativum) ursprünglich  
 stets awā". Thus aw here should be recognized as the  
 ---  
 direct case of an independent personal pronoun.

Muk. § 37, 3.Sg. direct awī is perhaps best explained  
 ---  
 as an encroachment of the oblique form. Alternatively  
 -ī may be an Izafe.

4) The 3.Sg. masculine oblique form (a)wī may replace  
 ---  
 the feminine oblique (a)wē even in Bin., Piž., e.g.

Bin. 344 nīšānī wī biday wakū amin bō wī sūtāwim - show  
 ---  
 her that I am burning for her

5) The doubly oblique forms aminī, atōī &c., quoted by  
 ---  
 Mann, Muk. §§ 33 - 35, are unreal. All the examples quoted  
 Muk. § 36 contain, as Mann's footnote admits, the 3.Sg.  
 personal pronoun suffix -ī (q.v. § 193).



(b) The independent personal pronoun forms have the same functions as the corresponding nominal case forms (cf. §§ 176.a, 177.a).

In the oblique case the full forms, *amin* &c., appear mainly in the functions of the Direct Object (and, in Bin., Piž. only, of the Agent in the Agential construction). The short forms, *min* &c., appear in all the functions of the oblique case. E.g.

Bin. -- *awē wāy kird* -- she did thus (Agent)

325 *nawakū řa sar tōš bidā, atōš bikūžē* -- lest he  
fall on thee too, kill thee too

Muk.6,2 *darxwārdī wī dadā* -- he would feed her

58,29 *dagał awī* -- with her

Xoš.465 *dazgīrānī wī dētīn* -- her fiancé comes

(c) When an independent personal pronoun of the 1st. or 2nd. person appears as Logical Direct Object of the Agential construction (v. § 217), or as the complement of the substantive verb, the verb does not agree with it in person but appears in the 3rd. person singular, i.e. as if the pronoun were a noun, <sup>1)</sup> c.g.

Sul. -- *minīt dīwa = dīwītīm* -- thou hast seen me <sup>2)</sup>

-- *ēmat dīwa = dīwītīn* -- thou hast seen us

20 *minī bō čīa* -- what am I to him ?

32 *tōyān nārdūa* -- they have sent thee

68 *ka mintān māra kird-Ø* -- when you married me (to ..)

The agreement of the verb is exceptional in



.. seven generations of thy forebears

247 dīnu .. āgirit la jasay - thy faith .. fire in thy (body)

It may, however, be only a phonetic variant of -i conditioned by the proximity of a back vowel or bilabial consonant (cf. § 10.

The frequency of its occurrence with kuštin is noteworthy). Examples.

Sul. - dasu bišō - wash thy hands

13 čāwu pē bikawē - that thy eye may behold

51 nā-w-kužim, alqayak akama gō-t, a-i-kam ba 'abdī xōm -

I shall not kill thee, I shall put a ring in thy ear, make thee my slave

War.218 pēi bizānē palpalit akā - if he finds out about thee

he will chop thee up

273 bō na-w-kušt - why hast thou not killed it ?

284 a-w-wā - will take thee

290 hikāyatī xōmu bō akam - I shall tell thee my story

3) The Piž., Muk. and, less common, Rdz. forms Pl.1. -in, Pl.2. -ū alternate freely with the general forms -mān, -tān.

(b) The suffix personal pronouns perform the functions of a pronoun :

- i) Direct Object of a transitive verb in the present tense,
- ii) Agent of a transitive verb in the past tenses (v. § 219),
- iii) possessive (v. § 194),
- iv) governed by a preposition (v. § 231),
- v) with dative sense (cf. §§ 212.a, 214.a, 233.b).



Examples. i) Direct Object,

- Sul. 10 hayfa b-ī-kužīn - it is a pity to kill it  
 10 wīstī . . b-ī-girē - he wanted to catch it  
 20 haz akā ka bi-t-bīnē - he would like to see the  
 Piž.402 da-t-bam - I shall take thee

ii) Agent,

- Sul. 2 dastī birda bāxaī, sēwēkī dar hēnā, dā-y-a das  
 pāšā - he put his hand into his bosom, took out  
 an apple, put it in the king's hand  
 Piž.380 mālin bār kirdin - we loaded up (our) homes

iii) Possessive,

- Sul. 1 waḡaxī kōr abē - his hearth is blind (i.e.  
 he has no children)  
 9 aw āsikayān - that gazelle of them  
 69 la ḡyātī dāyktān - instead of your mother  
 Piž.393 kayfī xō-w-a - it is your own pleasure  
 Muk.103,22 sabrū bibē - let patience be yours

iv) governed by a preposition,

- Sul. 17 bōy bēna - bring for him . .  
 Bin.351 lēt mumbāarak bē - may it be fortunate for thee  
 (thee  
 Muk.1,26 zōrit čāka dagaḡ dakam - I shall do much good for  
 63,22 na-n-bē nēwān - let there not be between us  
 167,32 lēn - against us

v) dative.

- Sul. 10 hatā munkīnmān abē - as far as is possible for us  
 or, - hatā bōmān munkīn abē - do.

(c) In all these functions the pronoun appears suffixed to whichever representative of one of the following categories comes earliest in the sentence :<sup>1)</sup>

- i) Subject, or its complement, of an intransitive verb,
- ii) Direct Object, or Logical Direct Object (v. § 217), or its complement, of a transitive verb,
- iii) Indirect Object, governed by a preposition, of same,
- iv) an absolute prepositional form (v. § 231),
- v) a preverb (v. § 229),
- vi) a negative affix (v. § 200.b),
- vii) a modal affix (v. § 200.a),
- viii) the main verb (pronoun agent), the noun qualified (pronoun possessive) or the preposition governing the pronoun.

Thus :

- Sul. - b-ī-ka 'do it' (vii), but lē-y bika 'do it to him' (iv)
- na-y-hēnā 'he did not bring it' (vi), but  
           dar-ī nahēnā 'he did not bring it out' (v)
- das-it akawē 'it will come to thy hands' (viii), but  
           čī-t das akawē 'what will come to thy hands ?' (i)
- lē-yān apirsē 'he asks (from) them' (viii), but  
           čī-yān lē apirsē 'what does he ask them ?' (ii)

++ En. E. has a different exposition at BSOAS.17.490 ff.

(d) In Sul., all Sor. & Muk. the pronominal suffix, when attached to a noun, follows all other nominal endings and suffixes. In War., however, the pronominal suffix precedes

the defining suffix -á (cf. § 172.c),<sup>1)</sup>

++ En. Possibly on the analogy of such regular War. forms the pronominal suffix is found in irregular position in

War. - bēr-ī-a - bring it ! (-a 2.Sg.

Imperative ending, v. § 204.c)

§ 194. A noun qualified by a possessive personal pronoun suffix may or may not be further defined by the suffix -aká, less commonly -á (§§ 171, 172).

(a) The defining suffix is generally present when a sense of actual possession or personal connection is intended, e.g.

Sul. 3 <u>māīnakay</u>	- his mare
14 <u>qsakay</u>	- his words
42 <u>krāsakai</u>	- thy shirt
45 <u>gyānakam</u>	- my soul, beloved
55 <u>wuḷāxakat</u>	- thy horse
War.219 <u>bārgīrakam</u>	- my packhorse
Bin. - <u>nūsīnakam</u>	- my writing
Muk. § 9 <u>ḷēgākan</u>	- our home
<u>āyākatān</u>	- your agha

Note the fixed phrase

Sul. 2 ay <u>pāšāhām</u>	- O my king (pāšā), <u>but</u>
War.209 ay <u>šāhim</u>	- do.

This applies to the following nouns of relationship : wife, son, daughter, brother and sister (particularly younger), e.g.



Sul. 4 brākānim	- my brethren
19 žinakay	- his wife
21 kuřakānī	- his sons
25 xuškakatān	- your sister
War.204 brā gawrakam	- my elder brother
Muk. § 9 kičakam	- my daughter

(b) The defining suffix is absent when no actual possession is intended, with parts of the body, with the remaining nouns of relationship and with all nouns of relationship used conventionally, e.g.

Sul. -- xuškim	- sister !
21 kuřim	- my lads !
12 řāwim	- my prey
28 řōhī šīrīnim	- my sweet soul, beloved
27 čāwim	- my eye
80 qāčim	- my leg
16 āmōzām	- my cousin
27 dazgīrānim	- my fiancée

Note bāwkim 'my father', but bāwkim, bāwkakam 'old fellow !'

§ 195. The reflexive pronoun has the general form xō 'self'.

Very rarely, with the suffix -yān, the form xwa appears

(cf. § 18.b, wa > ō).

Primarily the pronoun refers to the Subject of a sentence or clause, or to the Agent in the Agential construction. The pronoun is generally further defined by a personal pronoun suffix, thus xō-m 'my-self', &c., e.g.

Sul. 8 kuřī xōm

- my (own) son

69 lagał xōy

- with him(self)

Arb.446 ba xōyān cūnawa

- they themselves went back

It may then refer to any person in the sentence, e.g.Sul. 11 ba sar sarī xōtā bāzī dā - it jumped over thy (own) <sup>(head</sup>Demonstrative.

§ 196. (a) The demonstrative pronouns combine the forms of the demonstrative adjectives (§ 188) and the defining suffix <sup>1)</sup> -á (§ 172), which may lose its stress. Thus Sul., War. have a system of two, proximate and remote, pronouns while all Sor. & Muk. have one general demonstrative pronoun. This latter may take the oblique ending -ī (-y). In Sor. the oblique form is frequently shortened to wa(y). Thus :

Direct.	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Bin., Piž.</u>	<u>Muk., Arb., Rdz., Koš.</u>
this	ama	)	
that	awa	( awa, (awha, ahwa, ahō)	awa
these	amāna	)	
those	awāna	( awāna, (awhāna &c.)	awāna
Oblique.			
Sg.		away, (ahway &c.)	(a)wa(y)
Pl.		awānay, (awhānay &c.)	(a)wāna(y)
Examples.			

Sul. 9 áwayān

- that one of them

9 awānay ka

- those others



- Sul. 62 amāna hamūy - all these  
 -----  
 Bin. 347 awham lāzima - I need that  
 -----  
 367 lahway čātir - better than that  
 -----  
 Muk. 8,30 hāta way binirē - came to that, that he would (die

++ Ph. In War. the demonstrative pronoun is disrupted by a personal pronoun suffix (§ 193) or the adverbial suffix -īš (v. § 234.b). As with the demonstrative adjective these appear before the defining suffix -á (cf. § 172.c), e.g.

War. 267 aw-īš-a pāšāy waxta - that too is the king of (the moment

268 aw-im-a awē - that is what I want (cf. § 214)

(b) There is some confusion between the demonstrative pronouns and the 3rd. personal pronouns (§ 192.a), e.g.

War. 194 awīš - that (not he) too

Arb. 414 tikrārī lō way kirdawa - he repeated it for him

426 'umrī wāna - their ages

### Interrogative.

§ 197. (a) The following inflexible interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur :

Sul., War. čī, Sor., Muk. čī (čī only prevocally, in pause and in bō čī, Arb. &c. lō čī 'why ?' <sup>1)</sup> 'what ?'

Sul., War., Bin., Piž. čōn, Muk. čīčōn, Arb. kū 'how ?' <sup>2)</sup>

War. čan, Sul. čan/ŋ, Sor., Muk. čand 'how much ?'

<sup>3)</sup> kē (Muk. § 43 k<sup>i</sup>ē(ha)) 'who ?'

Sul., War. kay, Piž., Muk. kangē, Arb. kangī 'when ?'

kām (Muk. § 43 kām(a)) 'which ?'

Examples.

- Bin. 321 awa ba čī čūn - what did you go for ?  
 338 atū daļēy čī - what dost thou say ?  
 Muk. 4, 5 čī dakay - what art thou doing ?  
 24, 25 čīa - what is it ?  
 Sul. - ama ba čaņa - (for) how much is this ?  
 - kē awa - who (is) that (at the door) ?

++ Fn. 1. Often reduced to bōč, lōč, even bō, lō 'why ?'

++ Fn. 2. The form čū appears in an isolated phrase  
 with the verb zānīn, e.g.

Sul. 131 čū zānīn - how should we know ?

Muk. § 43 čū zānim - how should I know ?

++ Fn. 3. Once in Bin. kē appears as a relative pronoun  
 with an antecedent (cf. § 237),

Bin. 355 atū kēt pē daļēn .. - thou whom they call ..

(b) The following forms contain the sense of a verb :

Sul. kwā, Muk. kwānē 'where is, are ?'

Sul. kāmātā 'where is, are ?'

E.g.

Sul. 117 kāmātā hanārakāntān - where are your pomegranates ?  
 (riders ?)

Muk. 21, 1 kwānē swārī da nāzanīn - where are the splendid

Sul. kō 'where ?' requires a limiting preposition,

thus :

Sul. la kō 'where ?', cf. Rdz. kēndarē (v. § 271.b)

bō kō 'whither ?', cf. Rdz. kēwa

Verbs.

§ 198. The verb has two simple tenses, namely Present and Past, formed regularly from the present and past stems (v. § 199) respectively. The present tense rarely appears in its simple form and then with subjunctive force (cf. compound verbs, § 228).

The two simple tenses are modified by modal affixes (v. § 200) to give a system in which distinctions of both tense and mood are made.

The past stem and past Participle (v. § 207) combine with tense forms of the substantive verb, the sole auxiliary in this function, to form further, compound, tenses.

The full system is summarized at § 211.

Stems.

§ 199. (a) The simple tenses are formed from the present and past stems of the verb.

Verbs are normally quoted in the form of the infinitive verbal noun, which invariably ends in /n/. The removal of the final consonant /n/, and when it is preceded by the vowel /i/ of this also, yields the past stem, which is thus regularly predictable from the form of the infinitive,

e.g.    čūn            'go'        :    čū-  
          hātin        'come'     :    hāt-  
          kirdin      'do'        :    kird-, &c.

The present stem is not generally predictable from



the form of the past stem or infinitive, or vice versa.

The following empirical rules, in order of decreasing validity, may be stated, but exceptions and irregularities are numerous and vary according to the dialect.

i) When the past stem ends in /ī/, or, the verb being transitive, in /ā/, or, being intransitive, in /ū/, then the form of the present stem is that of the past stem less this vowel, e.g.

pirsī-	:	pirs-	'ask'
kēšā-	:	kēš-	'pull'
čū-	:	č-	'go'

ii) When the past stem ends in /ā + a consonant (group)/, or, the verb being intransitive, in /ā/, then the last vowel of the present stem is usually /ē/, e.g.

bwārd-	:	bwēr- > bōr-	(cf. § 22) 'pass'
āwsā-	:	āwsē-	'swell'

iii) When the past stem ends in /t, d/ then the form of the present stem is often that of the past stem less this consonant, e.g.

kawt-	:	kaw-	'fall'
mird-	:	mir-	'die'

(b) Certain compound verbs (v. § 228) are compounded with preverbs, which then occur with every form of the verb. In one case the "preverb" is, in fact, an enclitic, viz. -awa (v. § 229.a). This does not, however, affect either ----- verbal stem as the enclitic is invariably added after

the verbal personal ending (v. § 201).

### Affixes.

§ 200. (a) Modal affixes.

1)

Sul., War. a-, Sor., Muk. da-, Rdz. a-/da-, prefixed to :  
the simple present give the Present Indicative,  
the simple past give the (Past) Imperfect.

b(i)-, in all dialects (but v. § 228), prefixed to :  
the simple present gives the Present Subjunctive,  
the past, with the suffix -āya, gives the Past Conditional.

b(i)- may also be prefixed to the Imperative, and  
(in Bin., Piž., Muk.) to the Perfect Conditional and its  
derivatives (v. § 210).

The vowel of the prefixes a-, da- is not generally  
realized before an initial stem vowel, e.g.

Sul. - ēm	- I come (ē-)
but, 187 aēnē	- he brings ((h)ēn-)
War. - ēžim	- I say (ēž-)
Bin. - dēšē	- it hurts (ēš-)
Muk. § 53 dēlim	- I leave (ēl-)
but, da <sup>y</sup> ēnim	- I bring ((h)ēn-)

It is, however, always realized before a pronominal suffix  
(§ 193.c.vii), e.g.

Sul. - a-y-ēlim	- I shall leave it
-----------------	--------------------

The vowel of b(i)- is not realized before any vowel,  
be it stem initial or pronominal suffix, except /i/ (v. §§

18.a, 31, 61), e.g.

- Sul. - b-ēm<sup>\*</sup> - should I come ?  
 - b-ī-ēnim - should I bring it ?  
 War. - b-ēžim - should I say ?  
 but, - bi-i-kužim - should I kill thee ?

++ Ph. In War. a modal affix t- occurs with two verbal stems only, forming the Present Indicative, viz.

- War. - tēm, tīēm &c. - I &c. come  
 - tērim &c. - I &c. bring

Cf. Kirmānšāhī (Mokri, Songs, 33) tīyam  
 (Mann, MS) tī<sup>y</sup>ām, tē<sup>e</sup>rim  
 Sinnaī (Mokri, Songs, 231) tērim  
 (Mann, MS) tēm, tērim

The form War.196 adērīn 'we bring' appears to be a compromise between tērīn and an artificial \*a-ērīn.

The latter verb is exceptional in that a personal pronoun suffix is attached not to either affix t- or b(i)- (v. § 193.c.vii) but at the end of the verb, e.g.

- War. - tērim-ī - I am bringing it  
 - bērim-ī - bring ye it !  
 294 āw bērēt-ī - the water should bring him

but also, influenced by Sul. a-y-ēnim,

- War. - a-y-ērim - I am bringing it

(b) Negative affixes.

1)

nā-, prefixed to the simple present, gives the negative of the Present Indicative.



na-, prefixed to all other tense forms (replacing the affix b(i)- of Subjunctive and Conditional tenses where present) gives the negative of these tenses.

ma-, prefixed to the Imperative (replacing the affix b(i)- where present) negates it.

++ Fn. When, as rarely, the affix nā- is separated from the verb then this takes the positive affix a-, e.g.

Sul. - agirīm bōt bō ēstā nā - I am not weeping for thee for now (i.e. thy present state)

### Personal endings.

§ 201. Each tense distinguishes five persons by characteristic endings. These do not correspond entirely to the personal pronouns (§ 192) in that the endings appropriate to the 2nd. and 3rd. persons plural are identical in form.

There is a characteristic Imperative ending for the 2nd. person Singular.

### Present tenses.

§ 202. (a) The Present tense is formed from the present stem with the prefixes a-, da- (Indicative) or b(i)- (Subjunctive), negative nā-, na- respectively, and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially as given below. In conjunction with different stem finals these endings undergo regular modification. Thus the /i/ of the 1.Sg. & 2, 3.Pl. endings does not appear after a stem final vowel. The other modifications, particularly

of the 3.Sg., are not simply analysable and are best given in detail (v.(b) below).

Present personal endings.

	<u>Sul.</u> , <u>War.</u>	<u>Bin.</u> , <u>Piž.</u> , <u>Muk.</u>	<u>Arb.</u> , <u>Rdz.</u> , <u>Xoš.</u>
	1)		
Sg.1.	-im	-im	-im
	2)		
2.	-ī(t)	-ī	-ī
		3)	4)
3.	-ē(t)	-ē(t) / -ī(t)	-ī(tin), -it-
Pl.1.	-īn	-īn	-īn
	1)		
2, 3.	-in	-in	-in

Notes.

1) Before an enclitic the (unstressed) vowel of -im, -in is often not realized (cf. § 4. Note).

2) Regarding the bracketed forms see (c) below.

3) The alternative form -ī(t) (cf. Arb. &c. -ī) is heard but rarely in Bin., Piž.

4) The form -it- occurs before the vowel of an enclitic.

(b) Thus, when the present stem ends in :

i) a consonant or semi-vowel, e.g. b- &c. 'be'

	<u>Sul.</u>	<u>War.</u>	<u>Bin.</u> &c.	<u>Arb.</u> &c.
Sg.1.	abim	awim	dabim	dabin
2.	abī(t)	awī(t)	dabī	dabī
3.	abē(t)	awē(t)	dabē(t)	dabī(tin), dabit-
Pl.1.	abīn	awīn	dabīn	dabīn
2, 3.	abin	awin	dabin	dabin

Note the corresponding Present Subjunctive in



	<u>Sul.</u>	<u>War.</u>
Sg.1.	(bi)bim	būm (v. § 65)
2.	(bi)bī(t)	būy(t)
3.	(bi)bē(t)	būē(t)
Pl.1.	(bi)bīn	būyn
2, 3.	(bi)bin	būn

ii) /ē/, e.g. -lē- &c. 'say'

	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Bin. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Arb. &amp;c.</u>
Sg.1.	alēn	dalēn	darēn
2.	alēy(t)	dalēy	darēy
3.	alē(t)	dalē(t)	darē(tin), darēt-
Pl.1.	alēyn	dalēyn	darēyn
2, 3.	alēn	dalēn	darēn

iii) /ū/, e.g. nū- 'sleep'

	<u>Sul.</u>	<u>War.</u>	<u>Bin. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Arb. &amp;c.</u>
Sg.1.	anūn	danūn	danūn	
2.	anūy(t)	danūy	danūy	
3.	anwē(t)	danwē(t)	danūy(tin), danūyt-	danwī
Pl.1.	anūyn	danūyn	danūyn	
2, 3.	anūn	danūn	danūn	

iv) /a/, e.g. ka- 'do'

	<u>Sul.</u>	<u>War.</u>	<u>Bin. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Arb. &amp;c.</u>
Sg.1.	akam	dakam	dakam	
2.	akay(t)	dakay	dakay	
3.	akā(t)	dakā(t)	dakā(tin), dakāt-	
Pl.1.	akayn	dakayn	dakayn	
2, 3.	akan	dakan	dakan	

v) /ō/, e.g. xō- 'eat'

	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Bin. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Arb. &amp;c.</u>
Sg.1.	axōm	daxōm	ḏaxōm
2.	axōy(t)	daxōy	ḏaxōy
3.	axwā(t)	daxwā(t)	daxwā(tin), ḏaxwāt-
Pl.1.	axōyn	daxōyn	ḏaxōyn
2, 3.	axōn	daxōn	ḏaxōn

vi) /ī/, e.g. girī- 'weep'

Sg.1.	agirīm	dagirīm	ḏagirīm
2.	( agirī(t) )	( dagirī	ḏagirī
3.		( dagirī(t)	ḏagirī(tin), dagirīt-
Pl.1,2,3.	agirīn	dagirīn	ḏagirīn

vii) /ya/, e.g. War. gaya- 'reach', Muk. giry- 'weep'

Sg.1.	agayam	dagiryam
2.	agay(t)	dagirī
3.	agayē(t)	dagiryē(t)
Pl.1.	agayn	dagiryayn
2, 3.	agayan	dagiryan

(c) The euphonic (t) (v. § 30) of the 2.Sg. (Sul., War.) and 3.Sg. forms is always realized when the tense form<sup>1)</sup> is immediately followed by the vowel of an enclitic, and may be so in pause. It is seldom realized before another consonant, however. E.g.

Sul. 28 amdōzī-t-awa	- thou wilt find me
62 abay-t-a dar	- thou carriest out

(contrast,

Bin.344 bikay-awa	- if thou makest ..
350 daćī-awa	- thou wilt go back
Muk.9,23 agar bimday-ē	- if thou givest it to me)
Piž.399 hatā S. bimēnīt	- while S. remains (alive)
Muk.14,25 bēt la wurmī	- comes from Urmiya
Xoš.460 bō yazāy bićīt	- he should go to war

In Arb. &c. the 3.Sg. -tin is an optional form,  
occurring most commonly in pause.

++ En. Mainly the enclitic "preverb" -awa (v. § 229.a)  
or the postposition -a, -ē (v. §§ 230.d, 231.b).

#### Substantive verb.

§ 203. (a) Beside the normal tense forms (§ 202.b.i) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense,

	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Bin., Piž., Muk.</u>	<u>Arb., Rdz., Xoš.</u>
Sg.1.	-im /-m	-im /-m	-im /-ma
2.	-ī(t)/-y(t)	-ī /-y	-ī /-y
3.	Sul.-a(t)/-(y)a(t) War.-a(s)/-(y)a(s)	-a(t)/-(y)a(t)	-a /-(y)a, -t-
Pl.1.	-īn /-yn	-īn /-yn	-īn /-yna
2, 3.	-in /-n	-in /-n	-in /-na

where the second form in each case appears in postvocalic position. The -(y)- of the 3.Sg. forms is realized after /a, ā, ō/. Examples,

Sul. 2 min pāšā-m	- I am a king
Arb.435 mindār-im, sabī-ma	- I am a child, a lad





Thus, for example, when the stem ends in :

i) a consonant or semi-vowel,

Sul. - bēna	- bring ! (ēn-)
5 bičin	- go ye ! (č-)
77 bikawa	- fall ! (kaw-)
War. - bīğirin	- hold ye it ! (gir-)
Arb. - bīna	- bring ! (īn-)

ii) /ē/,

Sul. - bilē <sup>1)</sup>	- say ! (-lē-)
47 bilēn	- say ye !

iii) /ū/,

Sul. 97 binū	- go to sleep ! (nū-)
- bifarmūn	- be ye so good ! (farmū-)

iv) /a/,


Sul. - maka	- do not ! (ka-)
War. 221 bīwan	- take him ! (ba-)
Arb. 415 mayban	- do not take him !

v) /ō/,

Sul. - biřō	- go ! (řō-)
- bixōn	- eat ye it ! (xō-)

vi) /ī/,

Sul. - magirī	- do not weep ! (girī-)
---------------	-------------------------

++ En. Mann, Muk. § 69, has bēlā 'say !', but his informant wrote regularly  . Cf., however,

War. 285 dām na	- put me down (nē-)
294 dām <u>nē</u>	- do,

Bin.318 magirya

- do not weep ! (giryē-)

(b) In Sul., War. only, when the Imperative is followed by the vowel of an enclitic, an euphonic -r- is realized after the 2.Sg. form, e.g.

i) consonant stem,

Sul. - bīgōṛa-r-awa

- exchange it ! (gōṛ-), but

Bin. - bīxōna-wa

- read it ! (xōn-)

ii) /ē/ stem,

Sul. - bīlē-r-awa

- repeat it ! (-lē-), but

Bin. - bīlē-wa

- do.

iv) /a/ stem.

Sul. 58 bimda-r-ē

- give it to me ! (da-)

12 fāwim ba-r-awa

- give back my prey !

(bida- &gt; ba-, v. § 33)

War. - bīka-r-ō

- open it ! (ka-)

297 bē-r-a lāy xōm

- come to my side (ē-), but

Bin. - ..-im bida-ya

- give me .. ! (da-)

Arb. - bīka-wa

- open it ! (ka-)

(c) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur :

Sul. - bičō

- go !

Bin.373 bičōn

- go ye !

(Sul. - bičin

- go ye ! (č-) is regular)

Sul.,Muk. - wara

- come !

- warin

- come ye !

Rdz. - mē

- do not come !

(War. - bē, bēn	- come ! (ē-),
Sul. - maya	- do not come !, are regular)
Bin., Muk. § 69 hařō	- go !

Note the irregular position of the personal pronoun suffix (v. § 193.c.vii) in the following War. Imperative forms :

War. - bērin-ī	- bring ye it ! (v. § 200.a.Fn.)
- bēr-ī-a	- bring it ! (v. § 193.d)
- bēž-ī	- say it ! (ēž-), but
- b-ī-ēža-r-ō	- repeat it !

#### Past tenses.

§ 205. (a) The Past tense is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially :

	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Sor., Muk.</u>
Sg.1.	-im	-im
2.	-ī(t)	-ī
3.	-∅	-∅
Pl.1.	-īn	-īn
2, 3.	-in	-in

They differ from the Present endings (§ 202.a) in the 3.Sg. only.

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in :

i) a consonant, e.g. hāt- 'come'

-----

	<u>Sul., War.</u>	<u>Sor., Muk.</u>	
Sg.1.	hātim	hātim	
2.	hātī(t)	hātī	
3.	hāt (v. 71)	hāt	
Pl.1.	hātīn	hātīn	
2, 3.	hātin	hātin	
ii)	/ū/, e.g. <u>bū-</u> &c. 'be'		
Sg.1.	būm	būm	N.B. War. wim
2.	būy(t)	būy	wī(t)
3.	bū	bū	ū, w
Pl.1.	būyn	būyn	wīn
2, 3.	būn	būn	win
iii)	/ā/, e.g. <u>mā-</u> 'stay'		
Sg.1.	mām	mām	
2.	māy(t)	māy	
3.	mā	mā	
Pl.1.	māyn	māyn	
2, 3.	mān	mān	
iv)	/ī/, e.g. <u>gaī-</u> 'reach'		
Sg.1.	gaīm	gaīm	
2.	gaī(t)	gaī	
3.	gaī		
Pl.1,2,3.	gaīn	gaīn	

(c) In Sul., War. the (t) of the 2.Sg. is always realized  
 when the verb form is followed by the vowel of an enclitic,<sup>1)</sup>  
 e.g.



Sul. 15 gaṛāy-t-awa - thou returnedst, but

Sor. - gaṛāy-awa - do,

In Sul., Bin. when a 3.Sg. past form ending in /ā/ ((b.iii) above) is followed by the vowel of an enclitic an euphonic -y- is realized between the vowels, <sup>2)</sup> e.g.

Sul. 2, Bin.304 gaṛā-y-awa - he returned, but

Muk.2,20 gaṛā-wa - do,

Bin.321 nadītrā-y-awa - (she) could not be seen

++ Fn. 1. Mainly the enclitic "preverb" -awa (v. § 229.a), the postposition -a, -ē (v. §§ 230.d, 231.b) or the conditional suffix -āya (v. § 206.b).

++ Fn. 2. The form War.217 gaṛāyaō seems to be a compromise between the Sul. form and War. \*gaṛāō.

§ 206. (a) The Imperfect tense is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix a-, da- (§ 200), thus, e.g.

Sul. 2c. ahātim, ahātī(t), ahāt, ahātīn, ahātin,

Sor. dahātim, dahātī, dahāt, dahātīn, dahātin, 2c.

(b) The Past Conditional tense is formed from the Past by the addition of the prefix b(i)- and the suffix -āya.

This latter follows the personal endings in all dialects, but in War. may precede them, thus :

Sg.1. bihātimāya or, War., bihātāyam

2. bihātītāya, Sor. bihātīāya

3. bihātāya

Pl.1. bihātīnāya

2, 3. bihātināya

++ Fn. 1. Mann, Muk. § 72, has "Optat.: būmāya ...;  
3. sing. būyāya", but, § 33, "In der Bedeutung eines  
Optativus perf. ... béhātināya ..."

++ Fn. 2. The 3.Sg. Past Conditional of the verb būn  
'be' appears in irregular forms, viz. Sul., Bin.  
(bi)bwāya, Muk. būyāya, Piž. bāya, War. wāya.

§ 207. The Past Participle, which occasionally appears in  
the function of a verbal adjective, is formed from the  
past stem by the addition of the morphemes Sul., Bin., Piž.,  
Muk. <sup>1)</sup> -ū, -w, War. <sup>2)</sup> -(i)ǵ (v. § 37), Arb., Rdz., Koš. <sup>3)</sup> -ī, -y.  
Thus, e.g.

Sul. &c. <sup>3)</sup> hātū, bū, māw, gaīw,  
War. hātiǵ, čūǵ (N.B. wiǵ :: Sul. bū), māǵ, gaīǵ,  
Arb. &c. hātī, būy, māy, gaī

++ Fn. 1. This -ū is extraordinary in that before the  
enclitic substantive verb it has "consonantal" status  
(v. § 208.a).

++ Fn. 2. Cf. Sinnaī (Barr, op. cit. p. 224) -(i)g.

++ Fn. 3. See § 18.c. Although -w is not realized in  
this position it confers "consonantal" status on a  
preceding /ū/ (v. § 208.a.ii).

#### Compound tenses.

§ 208. (a) The Perfect Indicative tense is formed of the  
Past Participle and the enclitic (Present) form of the  
substantive verb (§ 203.a) as auxiliary. In Sul. &c. this  
is always post-consonantal in form, following -ū or -w.

Thus, when the past stem ends in :

i) a consonant, e.g. hāt- 'come'

	<u>Sul. &amp;c.</u>	<u>War.</u>	<u>Arb. &amp;c.</u>
Sg.1.	hātūim	hātiġim	hātīma
2.	hātūī(t)	hātīī(t) (ǧ 67)	hātī
3.	hātūa, hātōt- (ǧ 18.b)	hātiġa(s)	hātīa, hātīt-
Pl.1.	hātūīn	hātīīn	) hātīna (
2, 3.	hātūin	hātiġin	

ii) /ū/, e.g. bū- &c. 'be'

	<u>---</u>		
Sg.1.	būim	būġim / wiġim	būyma
2.	būī(t)	*būġī(t) / wīī(t)	būy
3.	būa, bōt-	būġa(s) / wiġa(s)	būya, būyt-
Pl.1.	būīn	*būġīn / wīīn	) būyna (
2, 3.	būin	būġin / wiġin	

iii) /ā/, e.g. mā- 'stay'

	<u>---</u>		
Sg.1.	māwim	māġim	māyma
2.	māwī(t)	*māġī(t)	māy
3.	māwa(t)	māġa(s)	māya, māyt-
Pl.1.	māwīn	*māġīn	) māyna (
2, 3.	māwin	māġin	

iv) /ī/, e.g. gaī- 'reach'

	<u>----</u>		
Sg.1.	gaīwim	gaīġim	gaīma
2.	gaīwī(t)	gaīī(t)	gaī
3.	gaīwa(t)	gaīġa(s)	gaīa, gaīt-
Pl.1.	gaīwīn	gaīīn	) gaīna (
2, 3.	gaīwin	gaīġin	



(b) Concerning the (t) and (s) forms of the auxiliary see § 203.c. Note that in Piž. the (t) of the 3.Sg. Perfect form may appear before a consonant, e.g.

Piž. - čōt bō jūtī - he has gone to plough

(c) In Sul. when the verb form is followed by the vowel of an enclitic (v. § 202.c.Fn.) the 3.Sg. Perfect is regularly, e.g.

Sul. - gaṛāwat-awa, hātōt-awa - he has returned, come back  
The syllable -at- is generally added, redundantly, to the 1.Sg. & 1, 2, 3.Pl., but not 2.Sg., forms, thus :<sup>1)</sup>

Sg.1. gaṛāwin-at-awa

2. gaṛāwītawa

3. gaṛāwatawa

Pl.1. gaṛāwīn-at-awa

2, 3. gaṛāwin-at-awa

Examples.

Sul. E. hīčyān nadāw<sup>i</sup>matē - they have given me nothing  
(v. §§ 223.b.ii, 231.b)

but,

Bin.359 hātūimawa - I have come back

Muk. § 78 hātūīnawa - we have come back

++ Fn. E. (BSOAS.17.499, § 42) misinterprets this -at- as an inherent "final -a of the perfect tense", on the analogy of transitive paradigms, where the verb is generally 3.Sg. (v. § 220.c).

§ 209. (a) The Perfect Subjunctive and Pluperfect tenses are formed from the past stem with the Present Subjunctive and Past tenses of the auxiliary verb būn (§§ 202.b.i, 205.b.ii) respectively.<sup>1)</sup> ---

In all dialects except Bin., Piž. a stressed -í- is added to a stem ending in a consonant before the auxiliary. ---

++ En. In War. these two tenses would thus be identical in form in all persons but the 3.Sg., e.g.

Perf. Subj. \*hā́tíwim, -wī(t), -wē(t), -wīn, -win,

Pluperfect, hā́tíwim, -wī(t), hātū, -wīn, --win.

No examples of War. Perfect Subjunctive were, however, recorded. Mann, Muk. § 80, notes the contracted

Sinnaī Pluperfect hātūm (v. § 65). ---

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in :

i) a consonant, e.g. hāt- 'come' ---

Perfect Subj.	<u>Sul. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Bin., Piž.</u>
Sg.1.	hā́tíbm	hā́tíbm
2.	hā́tibī(t) / --bī	hā́tibī
3.	hā́tibē(t) / --bī(tin)	hā́tibē(t)
Pl.1.	hā́tibīn	hā́tibīn
2, 3.	hā́tibin	hā́tbīn
Pluperfect.		
Sg.1.	hā́tībūn	hā́tībūn
	&c.	&c.

ii) a vowel, e.g. čū- 'go' ---<sup>1)</sup>

Perfect Subj.	<u>All dialects.</u>
Sg.1.	čūbim
2.	čūbī(t), Sor. čūbī
3.	čūbē(t), Arb. &c. čūbī(tin)
Pl.1.	čūbīn
2, 3.	čūbin
Pluperfect.	
Sg.1.	čūbūm
	&c.

++ Fn. In Bin., Piž., Muk. (§ 72) the past stem of the verb būn is reduced to bí- in the Pluperfect, thus bībūm &c.

§ 210. (a) In all Sor. & Muk. a Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb būn with the "conditional" infix -ā-<sup>1)</sup> (cf. §§ 280.b, 284) and past endings (§ 206.a). The modal affix b(i)- is commonly prefixed to this form. Thus :

Sg.1.	(bi)hāt(i)bām
2.	(bi)hāt(i)bāy
3.	(bi)hāt(i)bā
Pl.1.	(bi)hāt(i)bāyn
2, 3.	(bi)hāt(i)bān

++ Fn. 1. Not, with Mann, Muk. § 72, an alternative present stem bā-, directly comparable with New Persian bāš-.

Muk.116,25 bām 'would I had been', Rdz.487 nabāy 'hadst thou not been' are Perfect Conditional, reduced < \*bībām, &c.



(b) The suffix -āya (v. § 206.b) may be added to this form giving a Perfect Conditional II tense, thus :

Sg.1. (bi)hāt(i)bām-āya, &c.

In Bin., Piž. the "conditional" -ā- may, in addition, be infixed between stem and auxiliary, giving a Perfect Conditional III tense, thus :

Sg.1. (bi)hāt-ā-bām-āya, &c.

### Summary.

§ 211. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows :

Present Indicative (§ 202)

a-kaw-im

-----

Present Subjunctive (§ 202)

bi-kaw-im

-----

Imperative (§ 204)

bi-kaw-a

-----

Past (§ 205)

kawt-im

-----

Imperfect (§ 206.a)

a-kawt-im

-----

Past Conditional (§ 206.b)

bi-kawt-im-āya

-----

Past Participle (§ 207)

kawt-ū, &c.

-----

Perfect Indicative (§ 208)

kawtū-im

-----



Pluperfect (§ 209)

kawt(i)būm  
-----

Perfect Subjunctive (§ 209)

kawt(i)bim  
-----

Perfect Conditional I (§ 210.a)

(bi)kawt(i)bām  
-----

Perfect Cond1. II (§ 210.b)

(bi)kawt(i)bām-āya  
-----

Perfect Cond1. III (§ 210.b)

(bi)kawt-ā-bām-āya  
-----Certain verbs.

§ 212. (a) The morpheme ha- with the verb būn yields the verb habūn 'exist'. Of this only 3rd. person forms, Sg. in Sul., War., Sg. & Pl. in Sor., Muk., commonly occur, though the remaining personal forms are attested. In War. a distinct 3.Sg. Present form also occurs.

In conjunction with the personal pronoun suffixes (with dative sense, v. § 193.b.v) this verb gives the sense of possession. Thus :

Present Indicative.

Sg.1. ham

2. hay(t)

3. haya, War. has 'there is'

Pl.1. hayn

2, 3. han 'there are'

War.

Sul.

I have	hasim, -im has	ha-m-a, -im haya
thou hast	hasi(t), -it has	ha-t-a, -it haya
he has	hasī, -ī has	hayatī, -ī haya
we have	hasmān, -mān has	ha-mān-a, -mān haya
you have	hastān, -tān has	ha-tān-a, -tān haya
they have	hasyān, -yān has	ha-yān-a, -yān haya

Sor., Muk. only

I have (Pl.)                      hanim, -im han, &c.

Present Subjunctive.

if there be	habē(t), Arb. habī(tin)
if I have	ha-m-bē(t), -im habē(t), &c.

Past, Imperfect.

there was, used to be	habū
I had, used to have	ha-m-bū, -im habū, &c.

Past Conditional.

if I had                      E. ha-m-bwāya, -im habwāya, &c.

## Perfect Indicative.

I have had E. ha-m-būa, -im habūa, &c.

### Examples.

War. - čitēkī tir has - there is another thing

Piž. - malā-n haya, faqēš-in han -- we have a mullah and  
 some students too

Muk. 197, 19 hanım hudūdi - I have some noble horses

Sul. 69 tūtikēkī pičkōlay habū - she had a little puppy

Bin.310 hamānbū                      -- we had, we were well off

++ Fn. See § 213.

(b) In the absence of the morpheme ha- the enclitic forms of the substantive verb (§ 203.a) in conjunction with a personal pronoun suffix may give the sense of possession, e.g.

Sul. - tīnū-m-a	- 'j'ai soif'
----- 1)	
- birsī-at-ī	- 'il a faim'
16 čī-at-ī <sup>1)</sup>	- 'qu'est-ce qu'il a ?'
-----	

The morpheme ha- does not appear with negative forms, thus :

(there) is not nīa, &c. (v. § 203.b)

I have not Sul. &c. nī-m-a, -im nīa, Arb. &c. nītim

we have not nī-mān-a, -mān nīa, &c.

++ Fn. See § 213.

§ 213. When the 3.Sg. personal pronoun suffix -ī is employed with the enclitic substantive verb 3.Sg. -a ambiguity could arise in certain contexts, e.g.

Sul.&c. haya 'there is'	: 'ha+ī+a 'he has' (v. § 212.a)
čī-a 'what is it ?'	: 'čī+ī+a "qu'est-ce qu'il a?"
birsī-a 'he is hungry'	: 'birsī+ī+a "il a faim"

This ambiguity is obviated by the pronoun suffix appearing after the enclitic verb (v. § 203.c), thus :

Sul.&c. haya-t-ī	- he has
-----	
čī-at-ī	- "qu'est-ce qu'il a ?"
-----	
birsī-at-ī	- "il a faim"
-----	
Arb.&c. tēnī-t-ī	- "il a soif"
-----	

The resulting groups Sul., Muk. -īatī, -yatī > -ētī,



War. -yasī, Arb. -ītī then commonly replace -īa, -ya,  
 -----  
 whether the latter contains the 3.Sg. personal pronoun  
 suffix or not, and even when no ambiguity could arise, e.g.

Sul. 13 xōnū-yatī <sup>1)</sup> < \*y-a - she has studied  
 -----

16 či dardēk-ētī < \*-ī-a - what pain he has  
 ----

War.210 xālō-yasī < \*y-a - it is his uncle  
 ----- 1)

224 kuštī-yasī < \*y-a - he has killed him  
 ----- 1)

Muk. MS göstū-yatī-awa < \*yat-awa - he has moved house  
 -----

Arb. - awa pišt-ītī < \*-ī-a - that is his back  
 ----

and, where -y- is merely euphonic,  
 ---

Sul.112 ba žēr sarēwa-yatī < \*sar-ī-awa-ya - is under his (head  
 -----

178 la barīā-yatī < \*bar-ī-ā-ya - he has (his coat) on  
 -----

++ En. See § 221.

§ 214. (a) The present tenses of the verb wīstin 'want' are  
 -----  
 provided by an impersonal construction. The stem (a)wē-,  
 -----  
 taking the normal modal affixes (§ 200) and present verbal  
 endings (§ 202), appears with the personal pronoun suffixes  
 with dative sense (§ 193.b.v).<sup>1)</sup>

The full stem awē- occurs after a personal pronoun  
 -----  
 suffix attached to the modal or negative affix, otherwise  
 the shorter stem wē- appears connected immediately with  
 ----  
 the affix, thus :

Sul. - a-m-awē, -im a-wē	- I want
a-t-awē, -it a-wē	- thou wantest
a-y-awē, -ī a-wē	- he wants, &c.
a-y-awēm	- he wants me

- Sul. - xōš-im a-wēyt - I love thee (xōš wīstin)  
 bi-t-awē, -it bi-wē - if thou want, &c.  
 nā-t-awē, -it nā-wē - thou dost not want, &c.  
 na-t-awē, -it na-wē - if thou do not want, &c.  
 Bin.&c. da-m-awē, -im da-wē - I want, &c., e.g.  
 Bin.394 da-y-awētawa - (he) wants (him) again  
 Arb.&c. da-m-awē(tin), -im da-wē(tin) - I want, &c.

In the past tenses wīstin is conjugated as a regular transitive verb (v. § 217 ff.).

++ En. The stem appears to have adjectival meaning, "wanted, necessary" or the like. Its verbal status, however, ~~is~~ indicated by the 3.Sg. forms in which the characteristic verbal endings, with optional -(t), Arb.&c. -(tin) (§ 202.b.ii), occur and not the enclitic substantive verb (§ 203.a), <sup>†</sup> Contrast the adjectival construction in (b) below.

(b) In War. the verb wīstin is largely replaced by a periphrasis with the adjective garak 'necessary' and the substantive verb, e.g.

- War.224 garak-im-a - I want, need  
 227 garak-a - please .. (it is requested ..)  
 231 min tō-m naḡarak-a - I do not want thee  
 With Sul. &c. xōš wīstin 'love' compare  
 War.223 xōš-ī garak būn - (he) loved them

+ is confirmed by the varying modal affixes.

§ 215. (a) The following forms of an auxiliary verb  
'must, ought to' survive :

Present. Sul. abē, War. awē, Bin., Piž., Muk. dabē,  
                     ---                      ---  
                     Rdz. dabā (?)                      ----

Past. Sul. abwāya, Bin., Piž., Muk. dabū  
                     -----                      ----

E.g.

Sul. -	abē kuř bē	-	it must be a boy
	---		
	- abwāya kuř bwāya	-	she should have been a boy
	-----		
10	abē .. bīgirīn	-	we must catch it
	---		
41	abē bēy lagałmānā	-	thou must come with us
	---		
War.196	awē bičīn	-	we must go
	---		
Bin.299	dabē bičīm	-	I must go
	----		
Piž.404	dabū zūtīr .. hātbāy	-	thou shouldst have come (earlier)
	----		
Muk.25,36	dabē ba qsay bikay	-	thou must do as he says
	-----		
Rdz. -	dabā lēra bī	-	it ought to be here
	----		

(b) The particles bā, Muk. § 71 bilā, dā (cf. § 288.b, 303.b) have the sense 'let ...', e.g.

Sul. 8	bā minālī tō bibīnim	-	let me see children of thine
	---		
14	bā biřōynawa	-	let us go back
	---		
26	bā aw āzāya bē	-	let that hero come
	---		
45	nabā .. nagařēmawa	-	let it not be that I, lest
	----		
			I do not return
Bin.322	aw bā lawē bē	-	let him be there
	---		
Xoš.445	bā bičīna řawē	-	let us go hunting
	---		
Muk.25,6	bilā bičīm	-	let me go
	----		
27,9	bilā .. mamī hał girīn	-	let us take up Mam
	----		



Verbal Constructions.

§ 216. In the present tenses of Intransitive and Transitive verbs alike a Subject (A)<sup>1)</sup> is always expressed in the personal ending of the verb and possibly by an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. /(A)min/ ařōm(=A) - I go

With Transitive verbs a Direct Object (B) and/or an Indirect Object (C) is normally expressed (exception, v.

§ 217.b) by a noun or pronoun form. Normally therefore two, and possibly three, parts are expressed in the phrase, e.g.

Sul. /(A)pyāwaka/ (B)sagaka akužē(=A) - /the man/  
kills the dog

/(A)pyāwaka/ a-(B)y-dā(=A) ba (C)sagaka -  
/the man/ gives it to the dog

/(A)pyāwaka/ la (C)sagaka adā(=A) - /the man/  
strikes at the dog

a-(B)y-kužē(=A)	- he kills it
a-(C)y-dāt(=A)-ē	- he gives (it) to him <sup>2)</sup>
a-(C)m-dāt(=A)-ē	- he gives (it) to me <sup>2)</sup>
lē-(C)y adā(=A)	- he strikes at it

In the past tenses of Intransitive verbs likewise a Subject (A) is always manifest in the personal ending and possibly in an independent nominal form, e.g.

Sul. /(A)min/ řōīštīm(=A) - I went

The past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs,

however, are marked by a particular construction in which three, and with an Indirect Object four, parts may be expressed. This construction requires elaboration.<sup>3)</sup>

++ Fn. 1. See § 217.a.Fn.1.

++ Fn. 2. See § 231.b, s.v. -ē. A 3.Sg. pronominal Direct Object cannot be expressed in this short form.

++ Fn. 3. With the following §§ 217 - 224 compare E's somewhat different presentation, with examples, in BSOAS.17.490, 499 ff.

§ 217. (a) With the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs an Agent (1)<sup>1)</sup> may be present in the form of an independent noun or pronoun (v. § 218). This Agent is in no way equivalent to a Subject, in concord with the verbal form.

A Logical Direct Object (2), i.e. a person or thing directly affected by the Agent, without reference to the verbal form,<sup>2)</sup> is generally represented (exceptions, v. (b) below). It is then expressed by a verbal personal ending (v. § 220) and may also be present as an independent nominal form.

A Logical Indirect Object (3), i.e. a person or thing affected, but indirectly, by the Agent,<sup>2)</sup> may appear. If not expressed by a nominal form it may be present in either of two alternative suffix forms (v. § 223.b).

A fourth part, which is essential to the construction, is the personal pronoun suffix form which resumes an

Agent (1) already expressed or is, otherwise, the agent itself. It is convenient to term the pronoun suffix in this function the Agential suffix (4).

The term Agential construction will, therefore, be used for this characteristic construction of the past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs. E.g.

Sul.        /(1)pyāwaka/ (2)sagaka-(4)y kušt(=2) - /the man/  
                                        killed the dog

/ (1) pyāwaka / (2) nānaka - (4) y dā (=2) ba (3) sagaka -  
/ the man / gave the bread to the dog

/ (1) pyāwaka / ba (3) sagaka- (4) y dā (=2) - / the man /  
gave it to the dog

kušt(=2)-(4)**i** - he killed it  
dā(=2)-(4)y-(3)m-ē - he gave it to me 3)

++ En. 1. The figures 1 - 4 are used to indicate the parts of this Agential construction as distinct from the letters A - C used for the parts of the simple construction described in § 216.

++ Fn. 2. The ~~provisional~~ terms "Logical Direct /  
Indirect Object" are employed <sup>provisionally</sup> to avoid confusion with  
the formal terms "Direct / Indirect Object", i.e.  
"nouns &c. primarily / secondarily affected by the  
action of the verb", as in § 216.

++ Fn. 3. See § 231.b, s.v. -ē.

(b) A sub-class of Transitive verbs is formed by those denominative verbs which indicate the making of some sound



(v. § 249, s.v. -a). Although these verbs do not take a Direct Object (indicated therefore (Ø)) they follow the Agential construction in the past tenses. The verb then appears in the minimal 3.Sg. form, e.g.

- |        |                  |   |                     |
|--------|------------------|---|---------------------|
| Sul. - | abōrēnē(=A)      | - | it (cow) is lowing  |
| -      | bōrān(=Ø)-(4)ī   | - | it lowed            |
| -      | a-(4)y-bōrān(=Ø) | - | it was lowing       |
| -      | ahīlēnin(=A)     | - | they (horses) neigh |
| -      | hīlān(=Ø)-(4)yān | - | they neighed        |

Similarly on the rare occasions when no Logical Direct Object (Ø) is expressed in the Agential construction the verb appears in the minimal 3.Sg. form. Compare

- Sul. (2)tīrēk-(4)ī dā(=2) la (3)sagaka - he shot an  
 arrow at the dog, hit the dog with an arrow  
 la (3)sagaka-(4)y dā(=Ø) - he struck at the dog  
 lē-(4)y dā(=Ø + 3)<sup>1)</sup> - he struck at it

E.g.

- War.219 (1)muxtār .. pē-(4)y zānī(=Ø)-n(=3)<sup>1)</sup> - the headman  
 found out about them  
 Bin.356 (1)hać kasē lē-(4)y pirsī(=Ø)-m(=3)<sup>1)</sup> - whoever  
 might ask (from) me

++ En. Regarding the double verbal ending v. § 223.b.ii. § 218. In the Agential construction if an Agent (1) is expressed by an independent noun or pronoun form this generally appears at the beginning of the phrase, though it may be preceded by an adverb. In narrative style,

however, such an agent may be reiterated after the phrase.

In Sor., but not Muk. (v. Muk. § 87), such an Agent frequently appears in the Oblique case (§ 177.a), e.g.

Bin.349 (1)gamīawānī pēy gut - the boatman said to him

Piž. - (1)awē kičē wāy kird - that girl did thus

Arb.422 (1)kuřakay, yisif, gōtī - the boy, Joseph, said ..

and, reiterated,

Bin.320 pēy gut, (1)patrūsyāy - he, Patrusya, said to him ..

§ 219. The Agential pronoun suffix (4) is suffixed to whichever word of the seven appropriate classes (ii - viii) listed above (§ 193.c) appears earliest in the sentence, e.g.

ii) Logical Direct Object (2),

Sul. 2 (2)dast-(4)ī birda bāxaīī - he put his hand into his (bosom

2 (2)sēwēk-(4)ī dar hēnā - he took out an apple

War.204 (2)awīš-(4)yān bāṇ kird - they called him too

Its complement,

Sul. 67 tūšī am darda-(4)i kirdim - thou hast inflicted

this pain on me

68 bō čī šēt-(4)tān kirdim - why did you make me mad ?

War.190 bāṇ-(4)yān kirdim - they called me

iii) Logical Indirect Object (3),

Sul. 5 yakēk la (3)dargā-(4)y dā - someone knocked at the (door

iv) an absolute preposition (v. § 231)

Sul. - lē-(4)y dā - he beat it, set off

v) a preverb,

Sul. 67 rā-(4)y kēšān - he dragged them

vi) a negative affix,

Sul. 36 kuř na-(4)y-hēšt - the boy did not allow

vii) a modal affix,

Sul. - a-(4)mān-xwārdawa - we used to drink

viii) the verb itself.

Sul. 2 dā-(4)y-a das pāšā - he gave it into the king's (hand)

2 xist-(4)ī-a bāxaī - he put it into his bosom

When ambiguity arises, or when the presence of the Agential suffix is not immediately obvious, then it may be repeated after the verb, e.g.

Sul. 3 latēk-ī xō-y xwārd-(4)ī - a piece of it he ate himself

69 lagaī xō-y bird-(4)ī - he took it with him

Note. In one text (Bin. 314 - 379) there are a few examples of the Agential construction without an Agential suffix (v. also Muk. § 91), viz.

Bin. 331 mālēkī zōr (1)xwāy dāwa - God has given great wealth

335 (1)awīš éand hadadēkī haskar ū hasākīr řagal xist -  
he took some soldiers with him

342 awī (1)awī dībū - that which he had seen

370 (1)patrūsyāy gut - Patrusya said ..

The Agent (1) is then always in the oblique case (v. § 218).

If these are genuine dialect forms they bear a close resemblance to the construction, without Agential suffix, of the Bad. &c. dialects (v. § 239).

§ 220. (a) In the Agential construction a Logical Direct Object (2) which is expressed by an independent nominal



form appears in the direct case (v. § 177.a).

(b) A Logical Direct Object when present, whether expressed by a nominal form or not, is always manifested in a verbal ending of the appropriate tense (§ 205 ff.). Any statement of the nature "the verb agrees with the Direct Object (of the English sentence)" is, however, an over-simplification, as is demonstrated by the frequent intrusion of the Agential suffix between verbal stem and personal ending (v. § 222).

(c) The commonest Logical Direct Object being a noun or pronoun form (v. § 192.c) the verbal ending is commonly that of the 3.Sg., i.e. in the past and pluperfect tenses  $\emptyset$ , in the perfect -a(t) &c. Any statement that such a 3.Sg. object "cannot be expressed and must be understood" is erroneous.

§ 221. When the Agential suffix is attached to the verb itself a series of paradigms arises, according to the nature of the verbal ending (v. §§ 220.b, 223.b.ii). The commonest paradigms are those in which the verbal ending is 3.Sg., thus :

Past (cf. § 205)	<u>Sul., War., Bin., Piž., Muk.</u>	<u>Arb., Rdz., Koš.</u>
Sg.1. <u>Agent</u>	xönim / xwēndim, &c.	xīndim
2.	xöni(t) / xwēndit	xīndit
3.	xönī / xwēndī	xīndī
Pl.1.	xönmān / xwēndin, &c.	xīndmān
2.	xöntān / xwēndū	xīndtān
3.	xönyān / xwēndyān	xīndyān

Imperfect (cf. § 206.a)

	<u>Sul. - Muk.</u>	<u>Arb. &amp;c.</u>
Sg.1.	amxön / damxwënd, &c.	damxīnd, &c.

Past Conditional (cf. § 206.b)

Sg.1.	bimxönāya, &c.
	or xönimāya, &c.

Perfect (cf. § 208.a)

	<u>Sul. &amp;c.</u>	<u>War.</u>	<u>Arb. &amp;c.</u>
Sg.1.	xönūma, &c.	xwandiğma	xīndītim
2.	xönūta	xwandiğta	xīndītīt
3.	xönūya(tī) <sup>1)</sup>	xwandī(y)a(sī) <sup>1,2)</sup>	xīndītī
Pl.1.	xönūmāna	xwandiğmāna	xīndītmān
2.	xönūtāna	xwandiğtāna	xīndīttān
3.	xönūyāna	xwandīyāna <sup>2)</sup>	xīndītyān

Cf. negative,

Sg.1.	namxönūa, &c.	namxwandiğa, &c.	namxīndīa, &c.
-------	---------------	------------------	----------------

Perfect Subjunctive (cf. § 209)

Sg.1.	xönibētīm / xwēndbētīm
2.	xönibētīt, &c.

Perfect Conditional (cf. § 210)

Sg.1.	/ xwēnd(i)bām	xīndibām
2.	xwēnd(i)bāt, &c.	xīndibāt, &c.

Pluperfect (cf. § 209)

Sg.1.	xönibūm / xwēndbūm	xīndibūm
2.	xönibūt / xwēndbūt, &c.	xīndibūt, &c.

It will be noted that the Agential suffix generally

precedes the auxiliary -a of the Perfect Indicative tense,  
but follows the equivalent -t- in Arb. &c. (v. § 203.a).

++ Fn. 1. See § 213.

++ Fn. 2. See § 67.

§ 222. When the verbal ending is other than 3.Sg. it normally follows the Agential suffix. A general exception to this is the 3.Sg. Agential suffix -ī which always follows the verbal ending. Particular exceptions are noted below.

The full range of possible combinations of two parts, viz. Agential suffix and verbal ending expressing a Logical object, may be summarized as follows (Table, pp. 141 - 2).

The material for dialects other than Sul. is insufficient to cover all possibilities (v. Muk. § 90). Known divergences are noted below.

Notes to the Table.

1) In Sul. the final (t) of a group such as dīmīt 'I saw thee' is always realized, to avoid confusion with the form dīmī 'he saw me'. In Sor. the ambiguity is, presumably, unavoidable.

2) In Piž., Muk. the group -im-in 'I .. you / them' alternates freely with -in-im.




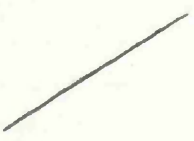
3) In Sul., when the past stem ends in /t/, the Agential suffix 2.Sg. -i(t) follows the verbal ending.

4) I.e. Sul. \*dī+īt(=2)+(4)ī. Sor. also dītī < \*dīt+ī(=2)+(4)ī. Sul. dīn, Sor. dītīn 'to see'.

**Table  
overleaf**



Sul. Logical Direct Object.

<u>Agent.</u>	-im 'me'	-ī(t) 'thee'
Past -im 'I'		dīmī <sup>1)</sup> " " kuštīmī <sup>" "</sup>
Perfect		dīwīmī
-it 'thou'	dītim kuštīmī(t) <sup>3)</sup>  dīwītim	
-ī 'he'	dīmī kuštīmī  dīwīmī kuštūīmī	dī <sup>4)</sup> kuštī <sup>5)</sup>  dīwī <sup>5)</sup> kuštūī
-mān 'we'		dīmānī(t)  dīwmānī(t)
-tān 'you'	dītānim  dīwtānim	
-yān 'they'	dīyānim ) ( 6) kuštīmyān )  dīwyānim ) ( kuštūīmyān )	dīyānī(t) ) ( kuštītyān )  dīwyānī(t) ) ( "kuštūītyān ) 5)

" dīn 'see', thus 'I saw, have seen  
 ---  
 thee, &c.', kuštin 'kill'.  
 -----

-in 'us'	-in 'you, them'
/	dīmin
	kuštimin <sup>2)</sup>
dītīn kuštīni(t) <sup>3)</sup>  dīwitīn	dīwimin
	dītīn
	kuštīni(t) <sup>3)</sup>
dīnī kuštīnī <sup>5)</sup>  dīwīnī *kuštūinī <sup>5)</sup>	dīwitin
	dīnī
	kuštīnī
/	dīwinī
	*kuštūinī
dīmānin	dīmānin
	dīwmānin
dītānīn	dītānin
dīwtānīn	dīwtānin
dīyānīn ) ( kuštīnyān )	dīyānin ) ( kuštīnyān )
	dīwyānīn ) ( *kuštūinyān ) 5)
	dīwyānin ) ( kuštūinyān )



5) In Sul., following a past stem ending in a consonant and the past participle in "consonantal" -ū (v. § 207), the groups -itī (-ity-), -inī (-iny-) are usually reduced to -itī (-ity-), -inī (-iny-) respectively (the -i- being frequently not realized), e.g.

xwārditī	>	xwārd <sup>i</sup> itī	- he ate thee
nārdinī	>	nārd <sup>i</sup> nī	- he sent us (Bin. 311 nārdinī)
nārdūtī	>	nārdū <sup>i</sup> tī	- he has sent thee

6) The 3.Pl. Agential suffix -yān may follow or precede the verbal ending optionally.

§ 223. (a) In the Agential construction a Logical Indirect Object (3), if it is expressed by an independent nominal form, does not modify the verbal form; the ending of the verb then indicates the person of the Logical Direct Object (2) (v. § 220.b), thus :

Sul. -	la (3)ēma-(4)y sand-in(=2)	)	he took them
	(2)awān-(4)ī la (3)ēma sand(=2) <sup>1)</sup>	(	from us
-	dā-n(=2)-(4)ī ba (3)ēma	)	he gave them
	(2)awān-(4)ī dā(=2) <sup>1)</sup> ba (3)ēma	(	to us
-	dā-m(=2)-(4)ī ba (3)gurgān-xwārdū	-	he ruined me
	(lit. gave me into (the state of being) wolf-eaten)		

++ En. Cf. §§ 192.c, 236.d.

(b) When the Logical Indirect Object (3) is not expressed by an independent nominal form it may appear

i) either as a personal pronoun suffix, if it is attached to an absolute preposition (v. § 231), thus :



I would have separated thy head from thy body  
Piž.412 (2)balak-(4)yān dagirt(=2)-im(=P2) - they would

seize my shank

Muk.174,30 (2)jūānwala-(4)y .. bird(=2)-im(=P2) - he took my (foal

A rare extension of this to the complement (P3) of  
the Logical Indirect Object is seen in  
Bin.326 ba (3)qsa-(4)y kird(=2)-in(=P3) - he did according  
to their words

(d) The characteristic construction in (b, c) above often  
gives the verb the appearance of "agreeing" with the  
Logical Indirect Object or the complement of the Logical  
Direct Object, but see § 220.

The extension of this construction seen in the examples  
Muk. § 95 is extraordinary, if real. Muk.215,16 hīč  
farzandū nabūn is explicable as a 3.Pl. verb 'you had no  
-----  
sons' (v. § 236.b, c).

§ 224. (a) When both Logical Direct and Indirect Object  
are pronominal then the verb stem carries two evident  
personal endings (§ 223.b.ii), e.g.

Sul. - lē-(4)y sand-in(=2)-īn(=3) - he took them from us

- pē-(4)y dā-n(=2)-īn(=3) - he gave them to us

The order of suffixation is apparently 'stem + Logical  
Direct Object (2) + Logical Indirect Object (3)'.  
-----

When, in addition, the Agent is also suffixed to the  
verb it (4) and the verbal ending representing the Logical  
Direct Object (2) appear in the order described § 222, the



Logical Indirect Object ending (3) normally being last, e.g.

Sul. - dā-(4)m-īṭ(=2)-in(=3)-ē - I gave thee to them

- xwā dā-m(=2)-(4)ī-n(=3)-ē - God gave me to you

That the connection between the Logical Indirect Object ending (3) and the verb stem is tenuous is suggested by the fact that it may follow other enclitics, e.g.

Sul. - dāw-(4)it-īn(=2)-ē-n(=3) - Thou hast given us to them

(-ē postposition, v. § 231.b)

(b) In practice such complex forms are avoided and the examples in (a) above (and even those given by E. in BSOAS.17.502, § 49) are to be regarded with caution.

When, however, either Logical Object is 3.Sg. pronominal, and hence represented in the past tense by a verbal ending -ø, the form is quite common, e.g.

Sul. - dā-ø(=2)-(4)y-m(=3)-ē - he gave it to me

- dā-(4)m-īṭ(=2)-ø(=3)-ē (dāmīṭē) - I gave thee to him

- dā-(4)m-ø(=2)-īṭ(=3)-ē (dāmīṭē) - I gave him to thee

- lē-(4)y sand-in(=2)-ø(=3) - he took them from her

E. lē-(4)m war nagirt-ø(=2)-in(=3) - I did not receive

it from you / them

Muk.42,9 xuṭā dā-ø(=2)-m(=3)-(4)ī-ē - God gave (him) to me

(c) In most cases, however, the Logical Direct Object is represented by a nominal form and hence also by a 3.Sg.

verbal ending (v. § 220.c), viz. in the past tense -ø, e.g.

Sul. 7 (2)sōṇ-(4)ī dā-ø(=2)-m(=3) - he administered an oath

10 pē-(4)y wut-ø(=2)-in(=3) .. - he said to them ..

Sul. 14 tā .. (2)čēšt-(4)ī bō kird-Ø(=2)-in(=3) - by the  
time that she had made a meal for them  
59 bō-(4)y frē dā-Ø(=2)-Ø(=3)-ya xwārawa - she threw  
it down for her

80 (2)harsēkyān-(4)im bō hāzir kird-Ø(=2)-ī(=3) -

I have brought all three of them for thee  
Muk.4,25 (2)xō-(4)y lē kird-Ø(=2)-in(=3)-a dārōya - he made  
himself policeman towards them

111,5 -(4)im pēškēš kird-Ø(=2)-ī(=3) - I gave (it) to <sup>(thee)</sup>

163,19 -(4)m dā-Ø(=2)-n(=3)-ē - I gave it to you

163,29 -(4)ī dā-Ø(=2)-īn(=3)-ē - (God) gave (it) to us

176,33 (2)tīrēk-(4)ī lē dā-Ø(=2)-m(=3) - he shot an

arrow at me, me with an arrow

232,6 wā-(4)y lē kird-Ø(=2)-im(=3) - he did thus to me

(d) The corresponding 3.Sg. ending of the Perfect tense,  
-a(t) &c., is apparently omitted in these constructions,  
-----  
on the analogy of Past tense forms, e.g.

Sul. - dāw-(4)it-īn(=2)-Ø(=3)-ē - Thou hast given us to him

E. (2)kāyazaka-(4)yān diṛīw-Ø(=2)-im(=P2) - they have  
torn my letter

52 agar (2)aǰal-(4)i hēnāw-Ø(=2)-im(=P2) - if Thou  
hast brought (the hour of) my death

Hal. - (2)nāmakān-(4)yān diṛānū-Ø(=2)-ī(=P2) - have they  
torn thy letters ?

Piž.409 (2)ǰīmāh-(4)yān lagaš kirdū-Ø(=2)-ī(=3) ) they have  
( had inter-  
v-(4)yān kirdū-a(=2) lagaš (3)tō ) course with  
thee

Bin.327 (2)dū kārakar-(4)ī bō rā girtūinata aw mindāla -

he appointed two maids for her to that child

(\*girtū-in(=2)-Ø(=3)-at(= by extension as § 208.c)-a)

### Passive Conjugation.

§ 225. The Passive voice of a transitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. The Passive verb is conjugated regularly as an intransitive verb.

(a) In Sul., Sor. & Muk. the addition of the morpheme -rē- to the present stem of the Transitive verb yields the present stem of the Passive conjugation. Predictably (v. § 199.a.ii) the past stem of the Passive has then the form of the present stem of the active verb plus the morpheme -rā-, thus :

Sul.      kuštin, kuž- 'kill' > kužrē-, kužrā- 'be killed'  
             nūsīn, nūs- 'write' > nūsre-, nūsra- 'be written'

(b) In War. likewise the present stem of the Passive verb is formed from the present stem of the active verb, regularly, by the addition of the morpheme -rē-. Corresponding to this, however, the past stem has generally the morpheme -yā-, thus :

War.      nūsīn, nūs- 'write' > nūsre-, nūsyā- 'be written',

or the compromise form -ryā-, thus :

War.      kuštin, kuž- 'kill' > kužre-, kužryā- 'be killed'

(c) In Sor. & Muk. particularly the Passive present stem is often formed by the addition of the morpheme -rē- to the past stem of the active verb, e.g.



Bin. 321 nadītrāyawa - could not be found (dītinawa)  
 335 hangāwtrābū - had been surrounded (hangāwtin)

Muk. § 100, Fn. 1. \*gutṛē-, gutrā- 'be said' (gutin)

(cf. § 226.ii, s.v. wutin)

Rdz. - kurāndrāya<sup>1)</sup> - has been boiled (kurāndin)  
 - sōtāndrā<sup>1)</sup> - was burnt (sōtāndin)

cf. Sul. gā(ī)n, gē- 'copulate with' > gāyrē-, gāyrā-

++ Fn. Cf. § 226.iv.

§ 226. The formation of the passive stems of certain verbs is irregular, viz.

i) loss of stem final /a/,

Sul. kirdin, ka- 'do' > krē-, krā- 'be done'  
 xistin, xa- 'throw' > xrē-, xrā- 'be thrown'  
 birdin, ba- 'carry' > brē-, brā- 'be carried'  
 dān, da- 'give, hit' > drē-, drā- 'be given, hit'<sup>1)</sup>

cf. War. kiryān 'be done', xiryān 'be thrown', &c.

ii) loss of stem final /ē/,

Sul. nān, nē- 'put' > nirē-<sup>1)</sup>, nirā- 'be put'  
 wutin, -lē- 'say' > defective present -lrē- 'be said'

iii) assimilation of -r-,

Sul. gōrīn, gōr- 'change' > gōr-rē- > gōrē-, gōrā-  
 biṛīn, biṛ- 'cut' > biṛ-rē- > biṛē-, biṛā-

cf. War. biṛyān 'be cut'

iv) euphonic -d-. The groups -n(i)r-, -rr- arising in  
 the passive stems commonly become -ndr-, -rdr- respectively  
 in Sor. & Muk., e.g.

Bin., Rdz. dā nān, nē- 'put down' > dāndrē-, dāndrā-  
(cf. Sul. nān > nirē-, ii. above)

Muk. § 101 nārdin, nēr- 'send' > nēdrē-, nēdrā- 'be sent'  
zānīn, zān- 'know' > zāndrē-, zāndrā- 'be known'

v) various,

Sul. girtin, gir- 'hold' : gīrē-, gīrā- 'be held',  
(also gīrsē-, gīrsā-), cf. War. gīr(s)yān 'be held'

xwārdin, xō- 'eat' : xurē-, xurā- 'be eaten'  
(but, šitin, šō- 'wash' > šōrē-, šōrā- 'be washed')

++ Fn. \*nr-, kry-, xry- &c. do not occur as initial  
-----  
consonant groups. Hence the appearance of the vowel  
/i/ between stem and passive morpheme in certain cases.

### Causative Conjugation.

§ 227. The Causative of an intransitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. The Causative verb is conjugated regularly as a transitive verb.

The addition of the morphemes Sul., War., Bin., Piž.,  
Muk. -ēn-, Arb., Rdz., Xoš. -īn- to the present stem of  
-----  
the Intransitive verb yields the present stem of the  
Causative conjugation. If the present stem of the Intransitive  
verb ends in -ē- this is displaced by the Causative morpheme.  
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The addition to the Intransitive present stem of the  
morphemes Sul., War. -ān-, Sor., Muk. -ānd- yields the  
-----  
past stem of the Causative. Thus :

Sul., War. diṛān, diṛē- 'tear' > diṛēn-, diṛān- 'tear'

Bin., Piž., Muk.

diřēn-, diřānd-

Arb., Rdz., Xoš.

diřīn-, diřānd-

Sul. &amp;c. sūtān, sūtē- 'burn' &gt; sūtēn-, sūtān- 'burn'

Bin. &amp;c.

sūtēn-, sūtānd-

Arb. &amp;c. sōtān, sōt-

&gt; sōtīn-, sōtānd-

E.g.

Sul. - fřīn, fř- 'fly' &gt; fřēn-, fřān- 'throw'

- řižān, řižē- 'flow' &gt; řižēn-, řižān- 'pour'

Note. gaī(šti)n, ga- 'arrive' &gt; gayēn-, gayān- 'send'

nūstin, nū- 'sleep' &gt; nwēn-, nwān- 'put to sleep'

Compound verbs.

§ 228. A simple verb may combine with either a preverb (v. § 229) or a nominal form to yield a compound verb. The meaning of compound verbs is a lexical matter.

They do not differ in form from simple verbs beyond the fact that the modal prefix b(i)- (§ 200.a) does not normally appear with them, e.g.

Sul. 25 kuř lēra dā nīšē	- may the boy sit here (dā
56 řām gira	- take me up (řā girtin)
80 qāčī māč kā	- in order to kiss his foot
	(māč kirdin)

but, with b(i)-,

Sul. 11 ēwa dā binīšin	- sit ye down !
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Particles.Preverbs.

§ 229. There are two types of preverb.

(a) The adverbs dar, dā, haṭ (Arb. &c. har), rā, rō (Sor., Muk.), war and the "postverb" suffix -(a)wa (War. -ō).

The latter may appear, but rarely, in the form of a preverb wa, e.g.

War.191 wa dān	:	dān-ō
Bin.345 wa paṛēna	:	paṛāndin-awa
Muk. § 61 wa bašīn	:	bašīn-awa

The suffix has two recognizable functions. It may give the sense of repetition, e.g. gaṛān-awa 're-turn', or modify the meaning of the simple verb unpredictably, as do the other preverbs, e.g. kirdin : -awa 'do : open', xwārdin : -awa 'eat : drink'.

(b) The "absolute" forms of the simple prepositions, pē &c., and their derivatives, pēwa, pēdā, pēk &c. (v. § 231).

Prepositions.

§ 230. (a) The simple prepositions immediately precede the noun or pronoun they govern. The following are attested :

ba	(War., Sor., Muk. also wa) 'to'	1)
la	(Sor., Muk. also da, rā) 'at'	
a	'to'	
bō	(Arb., Rdz., Koš. also la bō, lō) 'for'	
tā, hatā	'till'	

bē more commonly ba bē 'without'<sup>2)</sup>

lagal (War. also laḡal, lēl, Sor., Muk. also dagal, řagal,  
Arb. &c. lagar) 'with'<sup>3)</sup>

baraw 'towards'

wak(ū) (Sor., Muk. wak(i)) 'like'

++ Fn. 1. English translations of prepositions are given only as approximate labels. See § 233.

++ Fn. 2. Mann, Muk. § 112 end, is mistaken in considering bē-āyāī &c. as an abstract noun. The -ī is the Obl. case ending. Contrast

Sul. - ba bē tifaṅ řōīšt - he went without a gun

War. 254 wa bē pāšā - without a king

++ Fn. 3. lagaḷ occurs also as a relative adverb 'when', 'as soon as', e.g.

Sul. 10 ama lagaḷ girtmān - when we have caught this

65 lagaḷ dinyā řunāk bū - as soon as it was light

(b) In conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic "postpositions" occur :

-awa (War. -ō, Arb. &c. -wa)

-dā (Sul., War. also -ā<sup>1)</sup>, Sor., Muk. also -rā)

-aw-dwā (cf. § 246.b)

The commonest combinations are :

ba ...-dā 'through', la ...-dā 'in', lagaḷ ...-dā 'with',

ba ...-awa 'with', la ...-awa 'from', a ...-awa 'into',

bō ...-awa 'towards', la ...-awdwā 'after',

and their variant dialect forms.

++ En. Barr (op. cit. p. 231, § 40) sees here two separate suffixes; the postposition -dā and an Obl. case ending -ā = \*-ā. That this is erroneous is shown, within the Sinnaī Gulistān text under discussion, by the appearance of the -ā suffix after a personal pronoun suffix, viz. 100,6 la xātir-im-ā (v. § 193.d).

(c) The final vowel of ba, la, da<sup>1</sup>) is elided before the 3rd. person pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns and adjectives and awē 'there', and that of la also before ēra 'here', e.g.

Sul. - lawē 'there', lēra 'here', bama 'to this'

War. - layra 'here'

Sul. 9 law daštaā - in that plain

Piž.410 daw kuṛa čūkala - for that little boy

but, exceptionally,

Xoš.453 la aw darwēša - on that dervish

The suffix -awa appears as -wa following the vowels /a, ā, ē, ō/, e.g.

Sul. - la ēstāwa - from now (on)

- la dōnēwa - from yesterday

The War. form -ō may coalesce with preceding /a/ or not, e.g.

War.226 law dēw qāpīakō - on that side of the door

227 a nāw šatakaō - into the river

The suffix -ā may coalesce with preceding /a, ā/ or not, e.g.

Sul. 9 law daštaā - in that plain



Sul. 56 la bar qāpī aw māḷā - before the door of that house

++ Fn. Also of the "Plural Izafe" particle da (§ 180.c).

(d) a only occurs following a verb and is always realized as an enclitic, e.g.

Sul. 12 čū-a xēwatēkawa - went into a tent

27 agaṛēm-a dwāwa - I shall go back

62 abayt-a dar - thou carriest outside

Only on the rare occasions when the preposition is repeated but not the verb does it stand independently, e.g.

War.246 hātīn-a pāriyāwla, a dēy šēx - we came to P., to  
the sheikh's village

§ 231. (a) Corresponding to the simple prepositions

ba (wa); la (da); a there are the following "absolute" forms : pē, wē ; lē, tē ; ē, e.g.

Sul. 17 ba min biḷē )  
pē-m biḷē ) - tell me !

The correspondence is not, however, always regular, e.g.

Sul.130 tē-y haḷ dan - thrash him !

-yān l-aw haḷ dā - they thrashed him

- aydam ba flān - I give it to so-and-so

aydam-ē - I give it to him

bō &c. and lagaḷ &c. are also used absolutely.

++ Fn. The recognition of ē as the absolute form of a is E's, v. BSOAS.17.496, § 22. Mann, Muk. § 67, could not explain the form.

(b) The absolute forms of the prepositions, with the

exception of ē, stand independently and in no particular relation to the form they govern. This may be a pronoun suffix, in its appropriate position (v. § 193.c), or a corresponding verbal ending, attached to the verb (v. § 223.b.ii).

ē, like a ( § 230.d), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 xwā awlāyakī nērīna-i adāt-ē - God will give thee  
male offspring

(c) The independent absolute prepositions unite with the postpositions -awa, -dā &c. yielding :

pēwa (War. pēō), pēdā (Sul., War. pyā),

lēwa (War. lēō),

tēwa (War. tēō), tēdā (Sul., War. tyā),

lagaīdā (Sul. lagaīā, War. lēīā &c.)

With the 3.Sg. personal pronoun suffix -ī (-y) the Sul., War. forms pyā (:pēdā), tyā (:tēdā) yield pyā-y-ā, tyā-y-ā, i.e. with repetition of the suffix -ā, cf. Sor. tē-y-dā &c., e.g.

Sul. - awānay ka tyāyā-n - those who are inside it

Hal. - sirēšakam haī swī pyāyā - I spread the glue on it

Corresponding to the groups 'preposition + cardinal yak' the absolute forms pēk, wēk, lēk, tēk appear, e.g.

Sul. 20 ba yakawa

pēkawa (War. pēkō, Arb. pēkwa)

)  
( - together )

Sul. - kā w dānakay la yak jyā akātawa - he separates the





by the Izafe. E.g.

Noun.

Sul. -	la pišt dāraka	- behind the tree
	11 ba sar sarī kuṛā	- over the boy's head
	56 la bar qāpī aw māla	- before the door of that house
	86 ba taništ hayāsawa	- next to Hayas
War.195	la pāš awa	- after that
	204 la pēš aw	- before him
	219 pāš čil šaw	- after forty nights
Bin.323	ba dim bahrēdā	- by the sea
	325 ṛa sar malikšāy	- upon Malikshah
	355 wa dast ma kawē	- falls into our hands

Noun + Izafe.

Sul. -	la (mā)baynī dū panjaradā	- between two windows
	- la bardamī xānūaka	- before the house
War.195	la pāšī awa	- after that
	204 la pēšī awā	- before him

Adjective.

Muk.7,10	nizīk mirdinita	- it is near thy death
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§ 233. The meaning of prepositions is idiomatic and a matter of lexicon (v. E. BSOAS.17.494 ff.). Two extraordinary features may, however, be noted.

(a) la ( ...-dā) 'at, in (of place)' appears with certain nouns, usually in conjunction with the ending -ān, with the connotation of 'manner', e.g.

Sul. -	la ṛiqāndā	- in anger (ṛiq)
--------	------------	------------------

Sul. 62 la xōšīānā	- for joy (xōšī)
74 la tīnūā	- with thirst (tīnū)
87 la tirsānā	- from fear (tirs)
Muk.2,26 la birsān	- of hunger (birs)
6,31 la tirsān	- from fear (tirs)
10,32 la šarmān	- for shame (šarm)

That this is the plural morpheme -ān (§ 174) is suggested by the following example with Pl. Izafe (§ 130.c),  
 Piž.404 la tirsī da S. - from fear of S.  
 (See also § 297).

An ending -ān, to be distinguished from the plural morpheme, is seen also in

Sul. - la pāšān-ā	- afterwards
Bin.311, Muk.1,5 la pāšān	- do.
Arb.416 la pāšdān	- do. (*pāš+dā+ān) 1) --

This may be compared with the adverbial -ān seen in  
 Sul. - ba zistānān pīna w parō, ba hāwīnān wurd wurd bi rō -  
 in winter (it is) patches and rags, in summer  
 go slowly (to show off your finery)

123 la jārān čāktir	- better than formerly
---------------------	------------------------

It is noteworthy that this adverbial -ān may appear in conjunction with a preposition.

++ En. E. "The plural suffix -ān added to certain nouns, particularly those denoting time or place, gives them an indefinite meaning," with example

ēwārān	- of an evening (ēwāra)
--------	-------------------------



(b) Very rarely an absolute preposition (§ 231.a) is omitted without otherwise altering the construction. A personal pronoun suffix can then be said to have dative force (v. § 193.b.v), e.g.

Sul. 10 hatā mumkīn-mān abē = -mān bō - as far as it may  
--- -----  
be possible for us

But the Logical Indirect Object of the Agential construction may also appear in the form of a verbal ending (§ 223.b.ii) unsupported by a preposition, e.g.

Sul. E. yārīayān dāwim = dāwim-ē - they have given me help

Adverbial suffixes.

234. Three adverbial suffixes merit particular mention.

(a) In Sor., Muk. an adverbial ending  $-\bar{e}$  ( $-\bar{i}$ ) occurs.

It is identical in form with the Obl. case ending -ē (-ī)  
 (¶ 177), e.g.

Piž.380 pār bahārē - last spring

384 aw šaway - that night

397 hamū waxtēkī - at all times

Piž. 399, Muk. 10, 10 rōžekī - one day

Muk. 4.36 awē šawē - that night

and, with a preposition,

Bin. 320 hāta xwārē - came down

Muk.10.12 rōina žūrē - (they) went inside

The form -ē appears occasionally in Sul., where it cannot be equated with an Oblique case form, e.g.

Sul. 14 bō mālē -- -- towards home

32 šawē -- -- at night

With prepositions, however, the normal Sul. formation is with the suffix -awa, e.g.

Sul. 12 hāta darawa ----- - came outside

15 bō mālawā -- -- -- towards home

(b) --(ī)š 'also, even' may be suffixed to any nominal form, to a modal affix or, failing this, to the verbal stem, preceding any personal ending. With the reflexive pronoun xō (§ 195) it precedes any personal pronoun suffix. In War. it precedes the defining suffix -á (§ 172.c).

Examples.

Sul. - xō-š-ī -- -- - he himself

- agar hāt-īš-imawa awa bāštir - if I do come back  
(in time) so much the better

9 awān-īš bō ēwa -- -- - those too (are) for you

10 agar munkīn-īš nabē -- -- - even if it should not be (possible)

Muk.33,17 agar da-š-ī-baynawa -- -- - even if we do take her back

The form -š is normal following a vowel, e.g.

Sul. 13 ama-š -- -- - this too

41 ēma-š -- -- - we too

In War., however, and as an extraordinary form in Sul., -yš appears in postvocalic position, e.g.

Sul. 2 a-yš-zānī -- -- - thou knowest also

74 bō xō-yš-ī -- -- - for himself

War.197 xwā-yš -- -- - God also

War.200 aw baǵzāda-yš-a - that begzade also

(c) A suffix -ī appears to form a type of distributive  
adverb with the numeral yak and (attested in War. only)  
with nouns of measure, e.g.

War.205 yakī sē řasmyān girtīn - they took three photos  
of each one of us

257 yakī dasē bargī bō drūs kird - he made a suit of  
clothes for each one

Muk.24,17 yakī kuřēkyān dabē - each one will have a son

War.234 agar řōžī .. gōštī lē būrī - if each day thou  
cuttest flesh from him

+

+

+



## SYNTAX.

Emphasis.

§ 235. In the Agential construction the Agent generally appears at the beginning of the sentence and syntactically outside it, i.e. it is not essential to the main construction and must be resumed by the Agential suffix within the sentence (v. § 217). There is thus no particular emphasis on an Agent expressed by a nominal form.

A similar construction with verbs in the present tense, however, gives emphasis to the nominal form so isolated, which may be the direct or indirect object or the complement of the subject. It is then resumed within the sentence by a personal pronoun suffix, e.g.

Sul. - pašīmānān, šāx-yān lē biṛwāya - those with regrets,  
if horns were to grow on them

10 ama, zōr hayfa b-ī-kužīn - this, it is a great pity  
that we should kill it

26 pāšā, čāw-ī dar ya - the king, may his eyes come (out

War.188 min, nāw-im nāmīqa - I, my name is Namiq

In Sor., when the nominal form so removed from the main phrase requires it, it appears in the Obl. case, e.g.

Bin.353 xwājā kāwusī, naǰūm-ī habū - Khwaja Kawus, he had  
a horoscope

Piž.385 tūtinakay, nēwkōl-ī hāt - the tobacco, its weeds (came

398 žinēk-ī habū, aw kumāndāray - he had a wife, that  
commander

Concord.

¶ 236. (a) The concord between subject and verb is generally straightforward, i.e. a singular subject takes a singular verb and a subject with the plural morpheme -ān takes a plural verb.

(b) A simple noun with generic plural sense (§ 170) may take either a singular or a plural verb, e.g.,

Sul. - dānī am kuṛa six-a / six-in - this boy's teeth are  
close together

E. lēra šēr zōr-a                    - there are many lions here

9 āsik . alawarān - gazelles were grazing

Muk. 87,2 žin dayal-in - women are treacherous

178,37 fāwkar būgirin - may hunters catch you

(c) Two or more singular nouns joined by the conjunction ū 'and' or the prepositions lagał ( ...-dā), ba ...-awa, &c. ---  
'with' constitute a plural subject and take a plural verb, e.g.

Sul. 2 min ū tō šartēk akayn - I and thou (we) shall make a  
21 pāšā ba istiqbālēkī jwānawa .. čūn - the king, with  
a fine reception committee, (they) went  
63 kuř lagał pīrēžin hātin - the boy, with the old woman,  
(they) came

Muk.24,9 dagał wazīrī xōy hał stān, rōīn - he, with his  
viziers, (they) set off and went

138,24 hātūn .. qarawaš ū māmānčī - maids and nurses  
have come



In Bin., Piž., Muk. (Muk. § 28) two nouns joined by ū may take the plural ending -ān, e.g.

Bin. 340 aw bit ū salamāna - those idols (bit, salam)  
 (qsa, bās)

339 gwēy law qsa w bāsānaya - he hears these sayings

Muk. 66,4 bāzin ū gwārān bistēnē - takes bracelets and earrings  
 (bāzin, gwāra)

112,36 la tirsī šīr ū xanjarān - from fear of swords

and daggers (šīr, xanjar)

or the plural Izafe -ī da (§ 180.c), e.g.

Bin. 349 dāk ū bābī da tō - thy mother and father

A noun with the meaning 'one of many' may take a plural verb, e.g.

War. 213 hatā yakēktān .. bimēnin - as long as one of you (remain)

(d) The Logical Direct Object of the Agential construction, if it be plural, is nevertheless represented by a 3.Sg. verbal ending in Sul., e.g.

Sul. - minālakānī nwān - she put the children to bed

- sagakānī kušt - he killed the dogs

In Sor., Muk., on the contrary, the verbal ending is commonly plural, even when the noun is not marked by the plural morpheme -ān, e.g.

Piž. 380 māḷ-in bār kirdin - we loaded up (our) property

380 farš-mān lē rā xistin - we spread carpets in it

382 šitilakān-im dāštin - I watered the seedlings

Muk. 2,32 hamū-yān qatlū-‘āmm kirdin - they massacred everybody

Rdz. 478 harsēk-ī girtin - he captured all three

There appears to be a distinction between animate and inanimate in

Bin. 332 *ćand wuḷāxī ćākī bō kiřīn* - he bought him some fine (horses)  
*ćand šīrī ćākī bō kiřī* - he bought him some fine (swords)

### Relative and Subordinate clauses.

§ 237. (a) In Sul., War. the inflexible particle *ka* serves to introduce both relative and subordinate clauses. The former may be either descriptive, e.g.

Sul. E. *salāhadīn, ka dinyāy girt* - Saladin, who conquered  
 the world, ...

9 *am āsikāna, ka wā alawařēn* - these gazelles, which  
 are grazing thus, ...

or restrictive, e.g.

Sul. 9 *aw āsikayān ka wā tawqēkī āltūnī la milāya* - that  
 gazelle which has a collar of gold round its neck

In Sor. & Muk. *ka* is commonly replaced by other particles.

To introduce a descriptive relative clause *wakū* appears in

Bin., Piž.,<sup>1)</sup> *har ka* in Arb., *agar* in Muk., e.g.

Bin. 327 *žin .. wakū malīkay faxrūtānja* - .. wife, who is  
 Queen Fakhrutaj, ...

Arb. 418 *pāšāy mīsr, har ka 'azīzī mīsrē bū* - the king of  
 Egypt, who was Aziz of Egypt, ...

Muk. § 44 *xuḷā, agar amin ū tōy ba řōžay hēnāwa* - God, who  
 has created me and thee, ...

To introduce a restrictive clause, and in the other

functions of ka, viz. introducing a subordinate clause  
 and as an adverb 'when', agar appears in Bin., Piž., Muk.  
 (Muk. § 44), har ka, wakī in Arb., (wa)kū in Muk., Rdz.,  
 Xoš., e.g.

Bin. 323 aw mawqīha-y agar .. lēy lā dā būn - that place at  
 which they had landed

336 agar xwēndīawa .. dazānē agar .. - when he read it  
 he knew that ...

348 tēy gaī mazbūt agar qsakay kirdibū (for 'qsaka(y)  
agar kirdibūy) - she understood perfectly what he  
 had said (the saying that he had made)

Muk. 2, 12 bō xātir awukū .. bizānin (for 'awa kū .. ) -  
 so that they should think ...

Arb. 424 wīstī har ka qsay lagar bikā - he wanted to speak  
 (with her (wheat

429 wakī ganimī .. tē dakan - when you are pouring out

Xoš. 459 ėi wurāyak nīa .. kū amin swār bibim - is there no  
 horse that I may mount ?

++ Fn. 1. In Sul. this is probably restricted to "story-  
 -tellers" style, e.g.

Sul. 47 kuř, wakū šā ismā'īl bē - the boy, who is Shah  
 (Ismail,

++ Fn. 2. kē once in Bin., v. § 197.a.Fn. 3.

++ Fn. 3. -y Izafe, v. (b) below.

(b) When a relative clause is restrictive and immediately  
 follows an antecedent which is either defined by the suffix  
-aká (§ 171) or a demonstrative adjective, or is a pronoun,  
 then the relative clause may be introduced by the Izafe, e.g.



Sul. E. min law xānūa-y ēwa pār kiṛītān dā nīštū<sup>i</sup>m, but  
 min law xānūadā dā nīštū<sup>i</sup>m ka ēwa pār kiṛītān -

I am living in the house which you bought last year

13 awa-y tō dīwita -- that which thou hast seen

Muk. § 46 aw mīwānaka-y hātibū - the guest who had come

Arb. 414 aw xawna-y aw jāra gērātawa - that dream which you  
 related then

The particle ka &c. may appear with the Izafe, e.g.

Sul. 9 awāna-y ka wā alawaṛēn ba ḡyā - those which are  
 grazing apart

Piž. 408 aw kāžēla sara-y ka .. hēnābūyawa - that skull which  
 he had brought

An extension of this is to be seen in such **conjunctive**  
 phrases as

Sul. 31 la sar ama ka kuṛ .. dāwāy minī kird, .. la sar  
 awa-y ka aw gāwira - because the boy asked for (my  
 hand), .. because he is an infidel

#### Use of Tenses.

§ 238. (a) The Present Indicative has both habitual and  
 actual present meaning, e.g.

Sul. - mizgawt bē malā nābē - there is no mosque without  
 a mullah (no rose without a thorn)

- xalqī kāyazī spī axōnētawa - people read (evil into)  
 white (blank) paper

- āsinī sārđ akutē - he is striking cold iron

Sul. -- har nān axōm -- I am just eating  
 2 tō čī akay lēra -- what art thou doing here ?

(b) The adverb wā 'thus' gives a sense of a state or  
 --- 1)  
 action in progress, e.g.

Sul. -- wā-y la kō -- where art thou ?  
 ---  
 -- wā-m lēra -- here I am  
 ---  
 9 am āsikāna ka wā alawapēn -- these gazelles which are (grazing  
 9 aw āsikayān ka wā tawqēkī āltūnī la milāya -- that  
 ---  
 one of them which has a gold collar round its neck

War. -- čāwim wā tēō -- I see it (my eye is on it)  
 ---  
 199 wā wa dasmānō -- it (is) in our possession  
 ---

++ Fn. In War. the form (h)ā gives a similar sense in  
 the absence of a verb, e.g.

War. 269 hā la xurānā -- (they are) on the point of  
 ---  
 being eaten

271 bardī hā wa sar šānō ) (there is) a rock  
 ---  
 273 bardē ā wa sar šānīō ) on her shoulder  
 ---

(c) The same tense is also used for Future time, e.g.

Sul. 10 ba das aygirīn -- we shall take it by hand  
 16 čī talab akay atdamē -- whatever thou seekest I  
 ---  
 shall give thee

58 amkužē -- she will kill me  
 ---

(d) In narrative it may alternate with the simple Past  
 tense, e.g.

Sul. 1 pāšāyak abē .. nōž akā .. alē .. la bar kird ..  
 ---  
 rūy kirda šāx -- there is a king .. he prays .. he  
 ---



says .. he put on (clothes) .. he turned  
towards the mountains

Sul. 16 kuř āmōzāyakī .. abē .. wutī .. čū - the boy has  
a cousin .. she said .. she went

27 lēy dā, rōī, kuř --- wā kuř ařwā - the boy set off  
and went -- lo, he is going -- ...

Bin.373 agar wa žūr kawt tamāšā dakā - when he entered he sees

§ 239. The Present Subjunctive is used :

(a) in subordinate clauses, introduced by a conjunction  
or not, e.g.

Sul. 4 wā jwāna nāwēkī bixayna sar - it is good that we  
should give him a name

7 sōñī dām .. ka nāwī zāir nakam - he made me swear  
that I would not disclose his name

80 dā nawī, qāčī māč kā - he bent down to kiss his foot

(b) with jussive force, e.g.

Sul. - xasū, gōt lē bē - mother-in-law, pay thou heed  
10 ba girtin bīgirīn - let us catch it by hand  
11 ēwa lēra dā binīšin - let ye sit down here

(c) following the particle bā 'let ..' and abē &c. 'must'  
(v. § 215, with examples),

(d) following certain verbs, e.g.

Sul. 4 nātwānim .. nāwī binēm - I cannot name him (twānīn)  
27 amawē .. sarēk .. bidam - I want to visit (wīstin)  
35 nayānwērā bēn - they dared not come (wērān)  
55 nāēlim biřōy - I shall not let thee go (hēštin)

¶ 240. (a) The Past tense is the normal narrative tense describing a single action in the past, e.g.

Sul. 5 tāq yakēk la dargāy dā - someone knocked at the door  
           čūn, dargāyān kirdawa - they went and opened the door  
 43 šawēk lawē būn - I was there one night  
           bayānī hātim bō lāy ēwa - in the morning I came to you

(b) The Past tense is also used for a recently perfected action, e.g.

Sul. - la pāš away ka minālākānī nwān - after she had put  
the children to bed  
22 šēxul'arabim hēnā w hātīn - I have brought the  
Sheikh of the Arabs and we have come (back)  
38 haḷim gira, fawtām - take me up, I have perished  
43 tō čūyta xānūy ēma - hast thou been to our house ?

A long completed action is expressed by the perfect or pluperfect tense, e.g.

Perfect.

Sul. - la bātī insān mirīškēkyān swār kirdūa - instead of a  
 -----  
 man they mounted a hen (in Montgolfier's balloon)

13 la mamlakatī xōy tōrāwa, hātōta ēra -- she has tired  
 -----  
 of her own country and come here

Pluperfect.

Sul. -- ka čūma lāy minālakānī nwānibū -- when I went to (see)  
her she had put the children to bed

Muk.25,10 awrō . . sar-ū-pēy . . nārdibū -- to-day she (had)  
sent a stew

(c) Corresponding to the narrative use of the Present Indicative (§ 238.d) the Perfect tense may also appear to indicate pluperfect action, e.g.

War.201 amānawē das bikayn wa isrāhat kirdin wa mawqihēkmān  
 bō aw dyārī kirdiḡa - we wanted to set about resting  
 -----  
 and we had appointed a place for it

§ 241. (a) The Imperfect tense indicates a continuous, prolonged, repeated or habitual action in the past, <sup>1)</sup> e.g.

Sul. 9 tamāšāy aw daštay akird, čawī kawt ba āsik la nāw  
 -----  
 bāxēkā alawarān - he was scanning that plain (when)  
 -----  
 he saw some gazelles grazing in a garden  
 15 duxtūryān abirda sar - they kept on taking doctors (to him  
 ----- (to me  
 38 dōnē ba mintān awut - yesterday you kept on saying  
 -----  
 179 rādyō nabū, gömān la grāmafōn agirt - there was no  
 -----  
 radio, we used to listen to the gramophone

++ Fn. In Arb. the Imperfect appears exceptionally as the narrative past tense, e.g.

Arb.430 awān dařōyštīn, hatā nīwarē dagařānawa - they  
 -----  
 set off and went half of the way back  
 ----- (sight  
 431 awāna čāwyān řōn dabōwa - their eyes regained

(b) The Imperfect appears in the apodosis of certain conditions (v. § 243.a) and in suppositions, even when the condition is not expressed, e.g.

Sul. - kāškī amdī, dū qsam lagařā akird - I wish I could  
 -----  
 see him, (were I to do so) I would have  
 a word or two with him !



### Conditions.

¶ 242. Present, possible conditions.

(a) In the protasis the Present Subjunctive appears, e.g.

Sul. 2 agar tō amam lagaḷ bikay -- if thou dost this with me

16 agar bēt ū tō bizānī -- if it should happen and

thou shouldst discover ..

65 kuř xabar bikaytawa - if thou wakest the boy

72 am sē kiča māra nakam - if I do not marry these three

Bin.324 lēra baw lāwa biřōy - if thou goest hence that way

361 nēwī xōt ba min nalēy - if thou dost not tell me thy

It is generally followed, in the apodosis, by the Present Indicative, e.g.

Sul. - min bim la j̄yātī tō nān nāxōm -- if I were you I

would not eat anything

- agar bičī bō lāy nātnāsim - if thou goest to see him

I shall have nothing to do with thee

Occasionally the Present Indicative appears in the protasis, e.g.

War.263 haṭ asī .. aibasim, haṭ nāsī .. awkuṣim - if thou

ariseſt I ſhall tie thee up, if thou doſt

not arise I shall kill thee

(b) If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time then the Past tense may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Sul. - agar dīt pēy bilē - if thou seest him tell him

28 agar hātī la dwāmā ., andōzītawa - if thou comest

after me thou wilt find me

Sul. 58 agar hāt ū mirdī .. atnēžim -- if it should happen  
and thou shouldst die I shall bury thee

War. - agar hāi pēy bēža - if he comes tell him

- agar čūy bō slēmānī - if thou shouldst go to

Sulaimaniya (please do something for me)

ka nayščūy awā hīč - if thou dost not go, no matter

266 tēy gayānim nāykužim - if I make him understand I  
shall not kill him

Bin.350 agar hātimawa čāka - if I return all is well

Note. agar, ka in the sense of 'as, since' are followed  
by the Indicative, e.g.

Sul. 2 agar azānī min pašām - since thou knowest I am king

58 ka mādam wāya hāzirim - since it is so I am ready

|| 243. Past, impossible conditions.

(a) The Past Conditional tense is used in the protasis  
and the Imperfect tense in the apodosis, e.g.

Sul. - agar dönē šaw bihātītāya ēra xānit adī - if thou  
hadst come here last night thou wouldst  
have seen Khan

- agar la žēgāy tō būmāya am īšam bāštir akird - had I  
been in thy place I would have done this better

- am īšat wahā bikirdāya čāktir abū - it would have  
been better hadst thou done it thus

War. - agar tāpiřim pē wāya lēm akuštīn - had I had a  
shotgun with me I would have killed some of them



War.234 tō agar āqil būytāya naakawtīta ayraō - hadst thou  
 -----  
 had any sense thou wouldst not have got here

Bin.331 agar atū dāk nabūyāya .. -im dadā - hadst thou not  
 -----  
 been my mother I would have struck ...

377 agar amin bitirsāmāya .. nadahātīm - had I been  
 -----  
 afraid I would not have come

(b) The Imperfect tense may occasionally appear in the protasis, e.g.

War.219 agar asp ū čakim abū ba lāō - if I had a horse and  
 ----  
 arms with me

(c) In Sor., Muk. the Perfect Conditional tense, in any of its forms, may appear in the protasis, e.g.

Bin.337 agar zūt pē bigutābāmāya - if thou hadst told me (sooner

Piž. - agar pēt bigutbāmāya )  
 ----- ( - if thou hadst told me  
 391 agar ba minit bigutbā )

Muk. § 84 agar aw waxta nahātibām - if I had not come then  
 -----

§ 244. (a) In general the distinction between Subjunctive and Indicative Perfect tenses in conditional sentences is governed by the element of doubt, e.g.

Sul. - agar hātūa xabarim barē - if (you know) he has come (tell me

- agar hātibē wara pēm bižē - if he should have come  
 -----  
 come and tell me

- agar dānibētī čawī dar ahēnim - if he should have  
 -----  
 torn it I'll have his eyes out

52 agar aǰali hēnāwim - if Thou hast brought my death- (hour

In War., however, only the Perfect Indicative is

attested (v. § 209.a.Fn.1), e.g.

War. - aḡar d̄r̄iwiati čāwī dar tērim - if he has torn it

I'll have his eyes out

- aḡar āḡiraka kužyāḡatō naxtē dārī bixara sar - if

the fire has died down put a little wood on it

(b) The Pluperfect may appear in the protasis instead of the Perfect Subjunctive when the action of the apodosis must follow it in time (cf. § 242.b), e.g.

Sul. 42 agar xānū rūxābū xuškitim bō sar biṛa - if the house

has been destroyed decapitate thy sister for me

§ 245. The particles xōzga (Muk. § 33 xōziā), biryā, kāškī  
'would that ...'.

(a) When these particles introduce a wish still possible of realization they are normally followed by the Imperfect tense, e.g.

Sul. - xōzga ahāt	)	
	(	- I wish he would come
Muk. § 33 biryā dahāt	)	

Sul. - kāškī andī	- I wish I could meet him
-------------------	---------------------------

A subordinate verb following such a wish appears in the Past Conditional rather than the Present Subjunctive (cf. § 239.d), e.g.

Sul. - xōzga amtwānī bičūmāya māḡawa - I wish I could go home

(cf. § 215.a, abwāya kuṛ bwāya)

(b) When the wish is impossible of realization the Past Conditional tense is used, (in Muk. also the Perfect Conditional), e.g.

Sul. - xōzga am kābrāyam nadiāya - I wish I had never  
seen this fellow

- káški dönē bimdiāya -- I wish I had seen him  
yesterday

-- sad biryā bintwānīāya bičima māḷawa - would a  
 -----  
 hundred times that it had been possible  
 for me to go home

cf. - hazim akird amat bō bikirdimāya - I wish you had  
done this for me (would have liked you to do ..)

Muk.116,25 biryā amin sēwēk bām .. kawtibām .. bihātināyawa,  
aminyān haḥ bigirtāyawa - would that I had been  
 an apple .. that I had fallen .. that (they)  
 had come back and had picked me up

+



## WORD FORMATION.

(All references, unless otherwise stated, to Sul. only)

Compounds.

§ 246. Copulative compounds are of three types.

(a) The commonest consists of two related nouns or adjectives joined by the conjunction ū, w 'and' into a syntactical whole, e.g.

bažn-ū-bālā	'stature'
daŋ-ū-bās	'news' (noise & talk)
drō-w-dalasa	'deception' (lie & ? deception)
das-ū-pil	'hand & fingers'
hāt-ū-čū	'traffic' (coming & going)
hāt-ū-nahāt	'luck' (coming & not-coming)
narm-ū-šil	'soft & flabby'
rēgā-w-bān	'highroad' (road & plateau)
taŋ-ū-čalama	'trouble' (tight & collar-bone, ??)

Less commonly one member is merely a rhyme of the other, e.g.

ēsk-ū-prūsk	'body' (bone, skeleton & ? )
čāw-ū-rāw	'deception' (eye & hunting)
ǰē-w-rē	'accommodation' (place & way)
rēk-ū-pēk	'regular, tidy' (tidy & together)
šil-ū-mil	'loose' (flabby & ? )

(b) Two members may, alternatively, be joined by a simple preposition or an equivalent morpheme which has no separate identity. The resulting compound may be a noun, adjective or adverb, e.g.

--aw- (cf. postposition --aw-dwā, § 230.b)

dam-aw-nuxūn 'inverted' (face towards inverted)

dast-aw-ažnō 'depressed' (hand towards knee)

-āw- čašn-āw-čašn 'various' (kind to kind)

raŋ-āw-raŋ 'various' (colour to colour)

pēč-āw-pēč 'winding' (turn to turn)

ba žē-ba-žē 'in place, effect' (place to place)

das-ba-žē 'immediately' (hand to place)

haprūn-ba-haprūn 'in pieces' (piece to piece)

baraw sar-baraw-xwāra 'declivity' (head towards downwards)

(c) Two repeated parts, particularly verbal stems, may form a compound, either noun, adjective or adverb, e.g.

anžin-anžin 'chopped fine' (chip chip)

pičiř-pičiř 'separately' (bit bit)

tik-tik 'drip by drip'

An important sub-section of this type is formed by morphemes of "noise", e.g.

žirīwa-žirīw 'chirping'

qāspa-qāsp 'clucking (of partridge)'

xirta-xirt 'knocking'

The final -a- of the first element is not only a compound vowel. The first element frequently appears alone with the same meaning as the compound, e.g. žirīwa, qāspa &c.

§ 247. Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive.

(a) Dependent compounds are of two types :



i) A noun qualified by another noun in some case relationship to it, generally genitive. Such compounds appear with the qualifier preceding the qualified, or inverted, and in either case with or without a compound vowel --a--, e.g.

ōstā-žin	'craftsman's wife'
brā-žin	'brother's wife'
čēšt-anāw	'(mid-morning) mealtime'

and, with the compound vowel,

būm-a-larza	'earthquake'
-------------	--------------

Inverted,

čāl-āw	'well' (pit of water)
kūra-haṇ	'beehive' (hive of bees)

and, with the compound vowel,

čapik-a-guḷ	'bouquet'
guḷ-a-bāx	'rose' (flower of garden)
kun-a-lūt	'nostril' (hole of nose)

ii) A verbal stem restricted by a preceding object, e.g.

bā-wašēn	'fan' (wind-waver)
barg-drū	'tailor' (clothes-sewer)
bizin-miž	'"goat-sucker" lizard'
mōr-haḷkan	'seal-engraver'
pyāw-kuž	'murderer' (man-killer)
xōn-rēž	'bloodthirsty' (blood-spiller)
zōr-zān	'shrewd' (much-knower)

Note. With the defective present stem -lē- the modal affix is also present, zōr-bilē 'talkative' (much-talker)

dast-kird 'hand-made'

dast-kawt 'income' (hand-fallen)

(b) Descriptive compounds consist of a noun qualified either by a noun in apposition or an adjective. When the qualifier is a noun in apposition it may precede the noun qualified, e.g.

čilk-āw 'foul water' (dirt-water)

and, with compound vowel,

sāl-a-waxt 'a year's time'

but commonly follows it, with the compound vowel, e.g.

būk-a-šūša 'doll' (bride - glass)

dār-a-ban 'terebinth tree'

When the qualifier is an adjective the compound is also normally inverted and of the "open" type, e.g.

bizin-a-kēwī 'mountain goat'

qārčik-a-mārāna 'toadstool' (mushroom - snaky)

ac. ad infinitum (cf. § 182).

Mann, Muk. § 31, quotes compounds of the type

garm-a-šin 'bitter (hot) lamentation'

nāsk-a-tīr 'fine arrow'

§ 248. Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(a) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with adjectival meaning, e.g.

grān-bā 'expensive' (dear-price)

kawa-řōž 'overclouded' (grey-day)

and, with the compound vowel,

kurt-a-bāḷā 'short' (short-stature)

They are more commonly inverted, without compound vowel, e.g.

ēsik-sūk 'handsome' (bone-light)

bāḷā-barz 'tall' (stature-tall)

dil-taḥ 'sentimental' (heart-damp)

dāwēn-pīs 'lewd' (skirt-dirty)

hanāsa-sārd 'despairing' (breath-cold)

kayf-xōš 'happy' (pleasure-pleasant)

(b) The prepositions ba, bē form an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

ba ba-gō 'obedient' (with ear)

ba-ḵē 'fitting' (in place)

ba-kār 'useful' (with use)

ba-wanawz 'drowsy' (with sleep)

bē bē-gō 'disobedient' (without ear)

bē-hōš 'unconscious'

bē-qazā 'unharmed'

### Suffixes.

§ 249. The following suffixes form nouns :

-ī, forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

āgādārī 'care', āsānī 'ease', āškirāī 'obviousness',

bōšī 'vacancy', čōḷī 'desertedness', gawraī 'greatness',

kurtī 'shortness', xōšī 'pleasure'

With adjectives of measure &c. it alternates with



-āī, (-āyatī), e.g.

astūrī, astūrāī 'thickness', barzī, -āī 'height',  
drēžī, -āī 'length', garmī, -āī 'warmth',  
qūlī, -āī 'depth', bīndī, bīndāyatī 'height'

With other adjectives it frequently alternates with

-yatī > -ētī, e.g.

āzāī, āzāyatī 'bravery', bandaī, -yatī 'slavery',  
kamī, kamētī 'shortcoming', pānī, -āī, -ētī 'breadth'

-atī, -īatī > -yatī > -ētī, -āyatī, form abstract nouns

from nouns, pronouns or adjectives, e.g.

pyāwatī 'humanity', āyāyatī 'Agha-ship',  
brāyatī 'brotherhood', hākīmētī 'judge-, governorship',  
šāristānētī 'civilization', dōstāyatī 'friendship',  
xizmāyatī 'kinship',  
čōnīatī 'how-ness', kēyatī 'who-ness',  
čākīatī 'goodness', yakīatī, yakētī 'oneness, unity',  
birsētī 'hunger', tīnūētī 'thirst'

-ēnī, more rarely, forms abstract nouns, e.g.

būkēnī 'being a bride', čāwēnī 'evil-eye',  
kičēnī 'maidenhood', kuřēnī 'youth, boyhood'

-a, forms nouns of noise. From the suffix-free morpheme

denominative transitive verbs of noise are formed

by the addition of the causative morphemes (§ 227).

bōla : bōlānin 'murmur', bāra : bārānin 'bleat',

fīka : fīkānin 'whistle', hīla : hīlānin 'neigh'

Such nouns also form copulative compounds (§ 246.c), e.g.

giva-giv 'rumble', qirča-qirč 'crackle, splutter',  
qīža-qīž 'scream'

-ak, -ka, -aka, -ōk, -ōka, form derived nouns of various  
meanings, some of which may be classed as "diminutive",  
e.g.

dastak 'pole', rānak 'trousers',  
barbarōčka 'place in the sun', lūtka 'peak',  
pūlaka 'coin ornament', tūraka 'small bag',  
tīrōk 'rolling-pin',  
firfirōka 'whirligig', ĵinōka 'jinnée'

-l(k)a, -īla, -ōla, -ūla, -la, also form diminutives, e.g.

ĵūla(ka) 'Jew', mērūla 'ant', dāsūlka 'small sickle',  
pšīla 'cat', amustīla 'finger-ring', qutīla 'lamp',  
pičkōla 'wee', kizōla 'dim', dānūla 'porridge',  
mēšūla 'mosquito', rōla '(dear) child',  
xānimōla 'mademoiselle'

-ēn, forms the names of games, e.g.

halūkēn 'tip-cat', halmātēn, mūšēn 'marbles',  
fitbōlēn 'football', sartrīnĵēn 'chess'

-dān, forms nouns with the meaning '...-holder', e.g.

darzīdān 'needle-holder', fīšakdān 'bandolier',  
ĵīzdān 'wallet', mīzīdān 'bladder'

-alān (Bin. -alēn), forms nouns meaning 'tract of ...', e.g.

bardalān 'stony tract', narmalān 'tract of soft land',  
qāmīšalān (Bin. qāmīšalēn) 'reedy tract',  
zīalān 'thorny tract'



-(i)stān, forms nouns meaning 'place, country of ...', e.g.

dāristān 'wood(land)', qabristān 'graveyard',  
 ʃaŋʒistān 'jungle', kōstān 'mountainous, cold country',  
 šāristān 'city', kurdistān 'land of the Kurds'

-awān, -čī, form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

ašawān 'miller', bāxawān 'gardener',  
 kaštīawān 'boatman', pāsawān 'watchman',  
 tōrawān 'fisherman (net-man)', malawān 'swimmer',  
 bōyāxčī 'shoe-shine-boy', čāyčī 'tea-shop-keeper',  
 qāčāxčī 'smuggler', rāwčī 'hunter'

-amanī, forms nouns of materials from verbal stems, e.g.

sūtamanī 'fuel', xwārdamanī 'food'

--dār, forms nouns and adjectives with the meaning

'possessor of ...', e.g.

amīndār 'steward', bašdār 'partner',  
 dukāndār 'shop-keeper', diīdār 'lover',  
 mīwāndār 'host', āgādār 'watching',  
 astēradār 'starry', bāīdār 'winged',  
 dāndār 'toothed', zyāndār 'damaged'

--kar, -kār, form nouns and adjectives with the meaning

'doer of ...', e.g.

čēštkar 'cook', kārakar 'maidservant',  
 kāwēžkar 'ruminant', swāīkar 'beggar',  
 šaṛkar 'fighter', ārazūkar 'desirous',  
 īškar 'industrious',  
 harzakār 'lusty youth', krēkār 'hired labourer'

§ 250. The following suffixes form adjectives :

-ī, forms adjectives from nouns, e.g.

---  
bāzārī 'common, of the market', kōstānī 'mountaineer',  
lādēī 'rustic', qāwāī 'coffee-coloured, brown'

-īn, -āwī, form adjectives from nouns (mainly of materials),  
-----  
e.g.

āgirīn 'fiery', āsinīn 'iron', fānīn 'colourful',  
ārdāwī 'floury', bafrāwī, **bafrīn** 'made of snow',  
qufāwī 'muddy', xōnāwī 'bloody'

-in, forms adjectives of quality from nouns, e.g.

---  
aspēwin 'lousy', čilkin 'filthy', gōštin 'fleshy',  
kirmin 'wormy', qīžin, tūkin 'hairy',

-āna, forms adjectives and, more commonly, adverbs, e.g.

---  
mārāna 'snaky', mānāna 'monthly', sālāna 'annual',  
āyāyāna 'Agha-like', āzāyāna 'bravely',  
brāyāna 'brotherly'

-man/ŋ (-mand), forms adjectives with the meaning

-----  
'possessed of ...', e.g.  
ārazūmaŋ 'desirous', dādmaŋ 'just',  
dawłamaŋ/ŋ 'rich', hunarmaŋ 'skilled'

-dar, forms adjectives meaning 'giver of ...', e.g.

-----  
āgādar 'aware', farmāndar 'commanding'

§ 251. In Sul., Sor. & Muk. the "regular" Intransitive  
verb is characterized by the past stem ending -ā-,  
infinitive -ān, e.g.

-----  
biržān 'be roasted', kułān 'boil'

sūtān 'burn', škān 'break'

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative formation (§ 227) from the Intransitive, e.g.

biržānin 'roast', kuļānin 'boil',  
sūtānin 'burn', škānin 'break' &c.

In War. the "regular" Intransitive verb form is characterized by the past stem ending -īā-, -yā-, infinitive -īān, -yān, e.g.

biržyān, kuļyān, sūtyān, škīān &c.

+

+

+



## PART III.

Dialects of Sur., Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Shn.

## MORPHOLOGY.

Nouns.Definition.

§ 252. (a) A noun in its simple form may be either definite or indefinite, singular or plural (v. § 254.b), e.g.

- Ak. - kavr                      - rock, the rock, rocks, the rocks  
      - bičûk                    - child, the child, children, the children

There is no general means of further defining a noun. The following suffixes, however, appear in particular contexts.

(b) The suffix -aka appears in Sur., Ak. only, in narrative, defining known characters (cf. § 171), e.g.

- Sur. 508 mirōwaka gōta žinakē<sup>1)</sup> - the man said to the woman  
 Ak. 534 mirōvaka čōva                      - the man went back  
      555 māraka kušt                      - the snake was killed  
      682 das hāvēta kičakē<sup>1)</sup>              - he reached for the girl

++ En. See § 255.b.

(c) The suffix -a appears in all dialects Sur., Ak. -- Zx. following a noun qualified by the proximate demonstrative adjective av &c. (v. § 263.a), e.g.

- Ak. 547 av māra                      - this snake  
      591 av šiftīa                      - this watermelon  
 Zx. 775 av pīra                      - this bridge

It is not realized after a noun ending in /a/, e.g.

- Ak. 564 av sa                      - this dog (sa)

Note. The same "proximate" suffix is present in

Ak. 597 čī l hinda ganima-y kam -- what shall I do with  
this much wheat ? (v. § 255.b)

contrast, -- čī l hinda ganim-ī kam -- what would I do with  
that / so much wheat ?

Cf. also Ak. hutuva 'in this way' : watuv 'in that way'.

§ 253. (a) The suffix -ak (Sur., Ak. -ak', Am. - Zx. -ak)  
gives the noun an indefinite sense or one of unity, e.g.

Sur. 508 žinak ū mirōwak habūn -- there were a woman and a man

Ak. 531 mirōvak habō -- once there was a man

534 kāyazak nivīsī -- he wrote a letter

551 yē hanē řivīak-a -- yonder is a fox

Zx. 790 muškilak -- a difficulty

++ Fn. BX.5 describes a "Plural Indefinite Article", i.e.  
suffix, -in. Although quoted BX.19 with a Plural  
Oblique ending -ān (v. § 255.b), thus :

BX. dangē hasp-in-ān -- the sound of horses

it is elsewhere only attested with the Secondary

Izafe, q.v. §§ 257.c, 258.c.

(b) In Sur., Ak. following a noun ending in /a, ā/ an  
euphonic -y- appears before the suffix, thus -yak, e.g.

Ak. 556 qurbašayak -- a badger

580 ēzyāyak -- a serpent

586 birāyak -- a brother

In Am. - Zx. the euphonic -y- is rarely heard after /ā/  
(cf. § 20, end), e.g.



Am. 704 birāak	- a brother
709A bāak	-- a wind
718 qazāak	-- a district
but 723 qazāyak	-- do.

In all dialects Ak. -- Zx. the suffix may appear following /a/ as -k only, e.g.

Ak. 536 dabānĵak	- a pistol (dabānĵa)
563 qisak	-- a saying (qisa)
587 ĵigāarak	-- a cigarette (ĵigāra)
Am. 705 qabīlak	- a tribe (qabīla)
719 ĵāmiĥ/ak	- a mosque (ĵāmi'a)

The group -īak may be reduced to -ēk (cf. § 18.b), e.g.

Ak. 531 pištēk-ē dārā	-- a load of sticks (pištī)
653 hēvārēk-ē	-- one evening (hēvārī)
Bar. 737 āvāhēk	- a building (āvāhī)

(c) A noun qualified by an indefinite, but not normally an interrogative, adjective may take the suffix -ak, e.g. (v. also § 262.b)

Ak. 579 har kasak	- whatever person
Am. 715 hamī kasak	-- each person

A noun qualified by indefinite number may have the suffix -ak, commonly in conjunction with the Plural Oblique morpheme -ā(n) (§ 255.b) when oblique, e.g.

Ak. 592 čār pēnĵ daf'akā	- 4 or 5 times (daf'a)
611 gāzī čār pēnĵ bičūkakā kir	- called 4 or 5 children
613 tgal sē čār nānakā	-- with 3 or 4 loaves

- Am. 707 hašć nah rōžakā<sup>1)</sup> - 8 or 9 days  
 711A p čand rōžakā - by some days  
 Bar. 731 sē čarak dī - some 3 or 4 others  
 Zx. 773 dah daqīqayakā<sup>1)</sup> - some 10 minutes

++ Fn. Adverbial Oblique, v. § 298.a.

Note. In conjunction with the numeral yak &c. (§ 265) and certain indefinite pronouns an "indefinite" suffix -ē (also ? -ī) appears, e.g.

- Ak. 563 har yēkē qisak gōt - each one said something  
 617 hačīē dītbitava - whoever has seen it  
 618 hačīē bīnitava - whoever brings it back  
 629 kasē .. nāškīnīt - nobody breaks ..  
 Am. 706A har ēkē kēfīkak dāē - gave each one a cat  
 Gul. 765 kasē .. nagōta min - nobody told me  
 Zx. 774 lāzima ēkē am bikužīn - we must kill someone  
 Cf. also Ak. 585 ču ēkī .. nanivistin - no one slept

#### Declension.

§ 254. (a) In all dialects Sur., Ak. - Zx., Shn. the noun declension presents a system of :

- two numbers, Singular and Plural,
- two grammatical genders, Masculine and Feminine,
- two cases, Direct and Oblique.

In addition, in the system of Vocative endings, a distinction of natural gender is observed.

(b) The simple noun, i.e. in its Direct case form, gives

no indication of its grammatical gender or number (cf. § 252).<sup>1)</sup>

These are manifest only in the Oblique case forms (§ 255.b) and in the forms of the Izafe (§ 258).

++ En. The paradigm given BSOAS.16.530 is wrong, and a misinterpretation of K.A.Bedir Xan's "Langue Kurde", in that the Plural morpheme -ā(n) occurs only in the Oblique case.

§ 255. (a) A noun which is the subject of a verb appears in the Direct case, i.e. in its uninflected form.

A noun which is :

- i) the Direct Object of a verb,
  - ii) the Agent of a sentence in the Passive construction (v. § 289),
  - iii) governed by a preposition,
  - iv) employed with "oblique", i.e. dative, locative, ablative &c. sense,
  - v) governed by the Izafe (§ 257) or Demonstrative Izafe (§ 259),
  - vi) employed with adverbial sense (v. § 298.a),
- normally appears in the Oblique case. There is, however, a tendency for the uninflected, Direct case form to replace the Oblique form, particularly in its function as Agent. If a noun in the Oblique case is followed by an Izafe form (§ 257) then it does not take an Oblique ending.

(b) The Oblique case is marked by the following Primary morphemes :



	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M & F.
All dialects Sur., Ak. - Zx., Shn., BX.	-ī	-ē	-ā(n)
QK. 37 ff.	-(ī) <sup>1)</sup>	-ē	-ā

These are added to the simple noun directly, or after the defining suffix -aka (§ 252.b) when present. Examples, v. (d) below.

Following /a, ā/ the M. Sg. Obl. ending -ī appears as -y, e.g.

Ak. 531 a čyāy	-- to the mountain
534 mālā kābrāy	- the fellow's house
556 a qurbašay	- to the badger
544 mirôvakay gôti <sup>2)</sup>	- the man said (mirôv, -aka)

The F. Sg. Obl. ending -ē coalesces with preceding /a, ā/, e.g.

Ak. 533 l filān jādē	-- in such-and-such street (jāda)
536 darikē qišlē	- the door of the Serai (qišla)
545 jē garmē	- place of warmth (garmā)
533 gôta žinakē	- said to the woman (žin, -aka)
582 das hāvēta kičakē	- reached for the girl (kič, -aka)

An /ē/ preceding the Pl. Obl. ending -ā(n) may be reduced to ī, e.g.

Ak. 555 p har dō piā	-- with both feet (pē)
Zx. 785 piā hāt	- he came on foot
contrast, Ak. 565 sēā <sup>2)</sup>	- three people (sē)

The full form -ān of the Pl. Obl. morpheme only occurs





Ak. 540 har biskakē	- on each curl (bisk F.)
592 čār pēnĵ daf'akā	- 4 or 5 times (v. § 253.c)
Am. 704A nik naĵārakī	- to a carpenter (naĵār M.)
Bar. 729 Źinakē bīna	- take a wife (žin F.)
Gul. 750 l bīstānakī	- in an orchard (bīstān M.)
Gul., Zx. - nānakē bīna	- bring a loaf of bread (nān M.)
Zx. - k̄alaxē t̄ayrakē	- the carcase of a bird (t̄ayr M.)
- t̄armē Źinakē	- the body of a woman
771 ž gundakē	- from a village (gund M.)

(d) Examples of the Oblique case as :

i) Direct Object,

Sur. 507 āxē dē kōrin	- they will dig up earth (āx F.)
507 dē kēšin, quṛī	- they will take it, mud (quṛ M.)
Ak. 531 vī t̄ayray nākiṛī	- won't you buy this bird ? (t̄ayr M., -a v. § 263.a)
532 šikāyatē bika	- make a complaint (šikāyat F.)
539 kāyazā tnivīsīt	- is writing letters (kāyaz F.)
542 ču dangā naka	- make no noises (dang M.)
Am. 703A šīvē lē nīn	- we shall cook supper (šīv F.)
720 dō darsōkā thāvēt	- puts two kerchiefs (darsōk ?)
Bar. 730 dā kāyfē kan	- in order to make merry (kāyf F.)
ii) Agent (v. also § 289.b),	
Ak. 544 mirōvakay gôtī	- the man said (mirōv, -aka)
533 Źinakē gôtē	- the woman said to him (žin, -aka)
Am. 704A tīĵārā gôtē	- the merchants said to him (tīĵār M.)

iii) governed by a preposition,

- Ak. 531 a čyāy - to the mountain (čyā M.)  
 533 l filān jādē - in such-and-such street (jāda F.)  
 556 tgal qurbašayakī - with a badger (qurbaša M, -ak)  
 540 wakô dizā - like thieves (diz M.)  
 532 p hašt dīnārā - for 8 dinars (dīnār M.)

- Am. 703 a āšī - to the mill (āš M.)  
 703 p sē tivangā - for three guns (tivang F.)  
 704 ž jûakī - from a Jew (jû M, -ak)

- Zx. 790 tgal makṭablīā - with the pupils (makṭablī M.)

iv) with dative &c. sense (v. also § 294.d),

- Ak. 540 har biskakē - on each curl (bisk F, -ak)  
 Am. 705 dā nā 'ardakī - camped in a place ('ard M, -ak)

v) governed by the Izafe,

- Ak. 532 xudānē tayrī - owner of the bird (tayr M.)  
 534 mālā kābrāy - the fellow's house (kābrā M.)  
 531 xudānē dikānē - owner of the shop (dikān F.)  
 536 jē garmē - place of warmth (garmā F.)  
 Am. 705 qabilakā 'arabā - a tribe of Arabs ('arab M.)  
 Bar. 730 hākīmēt bāžērī - governors of the city (bāžēr M.)  
 Gul. 750 pištī sa'ātakē - after an hour (sa'ā F, -ak)

vi) adverbially (v. also § 298.a).

- Ak. 531 hamô rōžē - daily (rōž F.)  
 531 rōžakē - one day (rōž, -ak)  
 553 hinda rōžā - for some days  
 548 hāvinē - in summer (hāvin F.)

- Ak. 545 sē čār qûnāyā --- - for 3 or 4 stages (qûnāy F.)  
 Am. 703 naqlakē --- - once (upon a time) (naql F, -ak)

§ 256. (a) In the Vocative nouns denoting animate beings may take the following endings, with a forward shift of stress where possible :

	Sg.M.	F.	Pl.M & F.
Sur.	‘-a <sup>1)</sup>	‘-ē <sup>1)</sup>	? ‘-īna
Ak.	‘-ô	‘-ē	‘-īna
Am. - Zx.	"	"	‘-īnô
QK.37 ff., BX.20	--ô	--ē	--(i)nô

E.g. M. Sg.

- Sur.510 bāba --- - fellow !  
 Ak. 545 mārô --- - snake !  
 Ak. 561, Bar.730 bābô --- - father !  
 Am. - kuřô --- - son !  
 Bar.742 káfirô --- - monster !

F. Sg.

- Sur.510 zínē --- - woman !  
 Ak. - xuškē --- - sister !

(but note, xučô - sister ! sis !, perhaps with "honorific" M. ending, cf. § 178.b, War. example)

- 647 dāykē --- - mother !  
 Am. - kičē --- - daughter !

Plural.

- Ak. - qáhbayna --- her playmates)  
 - ye whores ! (a girl of 7 to  
 Am. - kúřīnô, kíčīnô --- boys, girls !



++ Fn. The same endings form hypocoristics (cf. § 178.a.Fn.),  
 e.g. mičô 'Mustafa', řamô 'Ramazan', simkô 'Ismail'  
 cf. Nikitine's text, BSOS.3.85

\*tatô w tamô .. čôna nik hayô - Tato and Tamo  
 went up to Hayo

(b) Alternatively the uninflected noun may appear as a vocative, with a forward shift of stress where possible, e.g.

Ak. 564 bírá - brother ! (bírá')

691 dā - mother !

A noun qualified by an adjective or another noun takes no vocative ending, e.g.

Ak. 545 haywānē xudē - God's creature !

(c) Preceded by a Vocative particle, such as yā 'O', a singular noun is generally uninflected, e.g.

Ak. 573 yā xalīfa - O caliph !

but contrast,

Gul. 761 yā dāyē - O mother !

762 yā xālô - O uncle !

In Plural vocatives, following galī, a noun appears in the Oblique case, e.g.

Ak. - galī bičûkā - children !

Am. - galī kuřā - lads !

### Izafe (v. § 179)

§ 257. (a) The Izafe appears in a variety of forms according to its functions. These may be classed as Individual and

Generic forms. In certain dialects the Individual forms may be sub-divided into Primary and Secondary forms.

All Izafe forms are realized enclitically and follow their antecedent in its uninflected form, even when it is grammatically Oblique (§ 255.a).

(b) The functions of the Individual Izafe are :

- i) to connect a noun with a qualifying word which immediately follows it, be it an attributive adjective (§ 260), or a noun or pronoun in genitive relation to it or in apposition,
- ii) to introduce relative clauses (v. § 300.b).

(c) The Secondary forms appear :

- i) following a noun qualified by an indefinite suffix -ak (QK, BX also -(i)n, § 253.a.Fn.); in Sur. also ----- apparently following the suffix -aka and the adverbial ----- suffix -īś (§ 298.b),
- ii) when a noun is qualified by two or more adjectives, joining the second and subsequent adjectives to the first (examples in Rwn. only, v. QK.27, Cukerman, op. cit. p. 136). See also § 302.b.Fn.2.

Otherwise the Primary forms are used.

(d) The Generic Izafe serves to connect certain adjectives and nouns, particularly those forming part of a compound verb (§ 292), with their complements. It occurs also in certain prepositional phrases (§ 296). (In BX.4 it occurs in the second function of the Secondary Izafe, c.ii. above.)



§ 258. The Izafe has the following forms :

(a) Primary.

	Sg.M.	F.	Pl.M & F.
Sur.	-ē	-ā	-ē
All dialects	-ē	-ā	-ē(t) <sup>1)</sup>
Ak. - Zx.			(Ak. -e:t', Am.&c. -e:t)
QK.27	-ē	-ā	-ē(d)
BX.1	-ē	-ā	-ē(n) <sup>2)</sup>

The M.Sg. and Pl. Izafe forms -ē, -ēt generally  
coalesce with preceding /a, ē/, e.g.

Sur.511 kōsē dīka	- the other swindler (kōsa)
Ak. 537 albīsē xō	- his own clothes (albīsa)
545 jē garmē	- place of warmth (jē)
542 darajēt 'usmānī	- the stairs of heaven (daraja)
Gul.750 pē xwa, pē wī	- his foot (pē)
but contrast,	
Ak. 690 sayē wī	- his dog (sa)
Note, Am.711A birē min	- my brother (birā)

The F.Sg. Izafe -ā coalesces with preceding /a, ā/, e.g.

Ak. - ôdā hanē	- yonder room (ôda)
588 čā xō	- his own tea (čā)
Am.709A qahwā xō	- his own coffee (qahwa)
Note, Ak. 565 xwā wī	- his salt (xwē)

++ Fn. 1. In literary texts from this area the Pl. forms

-ē di, -ē ti occur, i.e. with a separate "plural"  
particle (cf. § 180.c), e.g.

Ahmadē Xānī, "Nūbār" (1094 A.H. = 1682 A.D.)

line 5.

کو بونه پیروی دی

\*kô bôna payrawē di wī - who became his followers

Cl. Huart, "Prière canonique musulmane", J.A. 1895.93,

ca. 1780 A.D., ramal-i maqsūr - ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

verse 3

گرچه دی اینی تو فرضی بخو

\*gar vi jīh dē inī tō farzē ti xō - if thou wilt carry

out thy duties

cf. verse 4

دا به بیزم کینه فرضیت واجبه

\*dā bibēžim kīna farzēt wājiba - let me say which are

the obligatory duties

In all dialects the form -ē, with no trace of the particle, may appear occasionally in the Plural.

++ Fn. 2. Malāē Jizrī ("Dīwān", ed. Hartmann, Berlin, 1904) has, beside \*-ēn, the form \*-ēn di, e.g.

p. 217, hazaĵ-i axrab-i makfūf-i maqsūr

- ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ / ~ ~ ~

چشمین د سیه راد کرن فتنه و خونان

\*čašmēn di siyah rā dīkirin fitna u xūnān - black eyes

caused riot and bloodshed

نادم بشمالین بشپالین د بهشته

\*nādam bi šamālēn, bi šapālēn di bihištī - I shall not

give (up thy beauties &c.) for the paradisian

lights and beauties.

(b) Examples of the Primary Izafe with :

i) a qualifying adjective,

Sur. 514	karē dēza	--	the grey ass (kar M.)
514	har dū gāē dī	--	both the other oxen (gā M.)
Ak. 533	birāē māztirē	--	the eldest brother (birā M.)
548	tāē hanē	--	yonder bough (tā M.)
537	xanjarā pišik-zēr	--	gold-studded dagger (xanjar F.)
Am. 716	haywānēt kīvī	--	wild animals (haywān M.)
ii) a noun or pronoun in genitive relation,			
Ak. 539	kuṛē min	--	my son (kuṛ M.)
531	dāykā xō	--	his own mother (dāyk F.)
537	xanjarēt xō	--	your own daggers (xanjar F.)
Am. 703	karē wā	--	their ass (kar M.)
712A	žinā hārōnaṛašīdī	--	Harun al-Rashid's wife (žin F.)
704	tījārēt baydā	--	the merchants of Baghdad (tījār M.)
Bar. 727	kuṛēt xwa	--	his own sons
736	kuṛē kēma	--	whose son am I ?
Zx. 779	žilket xō	--	my own clothes (žilk Pl.)

(c) Secondary.

	Sg. M.	F.	Pl. M & F.
Sur.	-ī	-ā	
Ak., Am.	-ē	-ā (= Primary, v. (a) above)	
Bar.	-ī	-ā	
Gul.	-ī	-a /-ø	
Zx.	-ī /-ø	-ī /-a /-ø	
QK. 27, BX. 20	-ī	-a	-in)a

E.g.

Sur. 525	mirōwakī faqīrim	--	I am a poor man (mirōw M.)
----------	------------------	----	----------------------------



- Sur. 512 śīwakā xōś - a nice soup (śīw F.)  
 ---  
 517 mirōwakay xwārē - the lower man (-aka)  
 ---  
 519 tanaka-ś-ī dōśāwē - a tin of syrup also (tanaka M, -(ī)ś)  
 ---  
 Ak. 531 tayrakē zēr - a gold bird (tayr M.)  
 ---  
 548 dāarakā māzin - a big tree (dār F.)  
 ---  
 Am. 722 'ardakē hūn - a cool place ('ard M.)  
 ---  
 718 qazāakā kavn - an ancient district (qazā F.)  
 ---  
 Bar. 728 ēfīmakī wān - an orphan from among them (ēfīm M.)  
 ---  
 Gul. - zāxō jihakī xwaša - Zakho is a pleasant place (jih M.)  
 ---  
 767 t kuṭilikaka mazindā - in a big rissole (kuṭilik F.)  
 ---  
 Zx. - mirōvakī mazin - a big man (mirōv M.)  
 ---  
 - mēzaka bičūk - a small table (mēz F.)  
 ---  
 774 žarak dī - once again, another time (žār F.)  
 ---  
 781 žarakī dī - do.  
 ---  
 773 pirakī bilind - a high bridge (pir F.)  
 ---  
 775 kičikakī dalāl - a beautiful girl (kičik F.)  
 ---  
 (d) Generic. (see also § 296).  
 All dialects Sur. - Zx., QK., BX. -ī, e.g.  
 ---  
 Ak. 558 dē gāzī ta kam - I shall call thee (gāz kirin)  
 ---  
 602 nēzīkī hākimī bō - was near the judge (nēzīk)  
 ---  
 603 taslīmī .. wazīrī bika - give it to the vizier  
 ---  
 (taslīm kirin)  
 Am. passim pištī hingī - after that, afterwards (pišt F.)  
 ---  
 714 šibaṭī gurg - such as wolves (šibaṭ)  
 ---

Following a noun &c. ending in /ī/ no Izafe is realized,

e.g.





sense (v. § 302, 306).

It may, moreover, alternate with the Individual Izafe (§ 257.b), particularly when a qualifying adjective, noun or phrase is separated from the qualified word by any word other than a like qualifier.

(b) The Demonstrative Izafe has the following forms :

	Sg.M.	F.	Pl.M & F.
Sur.	y/wē	y/wā	y/wē
All dialects Ak. - Gul.	y/wē	y/wā	y/wēt
Zx.	y/wē	y/wā, y/wē	y/wēt
QK.59	yē	yā	yēd
BX.4	yē	yā	yēn

With the forms yē &c. the initial /y/ is frequently not realized, particularly when following a consonant, and the remaining vowel may then, according to the dialect, be formally identical with the Individual Izafe (§ 258).

Either the form yē or the Plural Izafe particle t (v. § 258.a.Fn.1) may appear alone for the combined form yēt.

The forms wē &c. appear in all dialects with the demonstrative adjective hanē &c. (§ 264.b) and in Gul., Zx. particularly with the verb habīn (v. § 286).

(c) Examples.

i) with nouns &c.,

Ak. - av kitēba yēt minin - these books are mine

Ak. - yā hāšimī māztira - Hashim's (daughter) is bigger

ii) with adjectives,

Sur. 517 maz yē xwārē - in front of the lower one

530 gōrīā yē dī - the other one's turn

Ak. 534 ava yēt xōšīn, yēt naxōš dē l dū hēn - these are  
the pleasant things, the unpleasant ones  
will come later

562 yē dwē .. yē sēyē - the second .. third one

~~562 yē dwē .. yē sēyē - how many will be~~

596 žinkēt wān t xirāb bin - their wives are bad ones

622 gōta yē fāla - said to the Christian fellow

Am. 722 hačīka yē dīa - as for the other one

705 mišk t miša bōn - mice were numerous

713 yā garm bō - it was (a) warm (one)

iii) qualifier separated from qualified.

Ak. - lēvā min yā xārē - my lower lip

685 wakīlē xō yē 'ām - his own general agent

697 kuřē wē awwil - her first son (\*wē yē awwil)

Gul. 751 birāēt wī yēt dīka - his other brothers

752 mi kičā xō yā dāē, yā mazin - I have given him my  
eldest daughter

contrast,

Zx. - min kičā xō yā mazin yē dāē - do.

- birāak min yē masfir ž vī - a brother of mine older  
than this one

Adjectives.

§ 260. (a) All adjectives, except when used substantively, are inflexible. Attributive adjectives normally follow the noun they qualify with the Izafe (§ 257.b). An attributive adjective separated from the noun it qualifies is normally preceded by the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 259.c.iii).

(b) In Am., Zx. a noun qualifying another, be it in genitive relation or in apposition to the qualified noun, may appear in the form of a "transient" attributive adjective with the ending -ē. Reliable examples are, however, rare.

Am.	- mēšā hingvīnē	- honey-bee, contrast
Ak.	- mēšā hingvīnī	- honey bee (hingvīn M.)
Am.	719 dargahē zēbārē	- the Zebar gate
Zx.	776 dārakī banôkē	- a terebinth tree (banôk)
	777 jôā hāzim bagē	- the Hazim Beg channel
contrast,	jôā bagī	- the Beg's channel (bag M.)
	787 liwā silēmānīē	- in Sulaimaniya province

§ 261. (a) The morpheme Sur., Ak. -tir, Am. &c. -fir (i.e. all dialects -t'if) added to the simple adjectival form yields the comparative adjective. This behaves exactly as a positive adjective.

The following irregular comparatives occur :

Ak.	- māz/stir 'bigger'	<	māzin 'big'
Zx. &c.	maṣtir	do.	< mazin
Ak.	- čētir 'better'	:	bāš 'good'



(b) The morpheme --ē added to the comparative adjective forms a superlative adjective (v. also § 267.a). This also follows the qualified noun with the Izafe, like a positive adjective, e.g.

Ak. 533 birāē māztirē -- the eldest brother

598 birāē gičkatirē -- the youngest brother (of two)

Note. In Rwn. har forms a superlative with a following adjective joined by the Secondary Izafe (cf. § 186.c), e.g.

Rwn. - dawlatā hara dēmōkrātī -- the most democratic state

- zār .. ē harī jūlat -- the most daring child

§ 262. (a) Adjectives of the following categories immediately precede the noun they qualify :

i) the demonstrative adjectives av, aw (§ 263),

ii) the interrogative and indefinite adjectives,

či, Sur. či 'what, whatever'

Ak. ču, Am. či, (QK. tu, BX.52 tu) 'any'

čand 'some, how much'

filān 'such-and-such'

galak 'many'

hamô, hamī, Sur. hama, hamū 'all'

(av)hinda 'so much'

har 'whatever'

Ak. kī, Am. &c. kī 'what, which' (Obl. also kē, perhaps influenced by the equivalent pronoun, § 271.a)

? kēm 'few'

but not, dī(ka) 'other'

nor Ak. wa(tuv), Zx. wasā 'such'

iii) cardinal numbers (§ 266).

(b) Examples. Interrogative and indefinite adjectives.

Sur. 510 az hama rōžē .. akiřim - every day I buy

512 čí síw lē nāya - what supper has been cooked

Ak. 542 ču dangā naka - make no noises

596 čand dař'ā žinā min čō - how many times did my wife go?  
(person)

589 kuřē filān kasī - the son of such-and-such

- galak mirōv hātin - many men came

550 hamō sālē - every year

597 l hinda ganimay - with so much wheat (v. § 252.c)

578 har kasakē xāin bīt - whatever person be treacherous

607 aw kī faqīra - which poor man is that ?

593 l kī mamlakatī - in what country

596 t zamānē kī hākimīdā - in the time of what ruler

582 l zamānē kē hākimī - do,

583 l kē mahalē - in which quarter ?

Am. 719 čí mināra .. nīnin - there are no minarets

710 čí tišť nāvdā nabōn - there was nothing inside them

711A čand xalkē baydā - as many people of Baghdad ..

706A hamī mišk řavīn - all the mice fled

725 har kas .. našētīn - whatever person cannot ..

711 ž kī dirkē - from what place

but,

Ak. 532 čkī dīka - another one

- tišťakē watuv min dīt - I saw such a thing



Zx. 781 mirôvakī wasā ----- - such a man

§ 263. (a) All dialects Ak. - Zx. have two inflecting demonstrative adjectives which precede the noun they qualify, viz. av 'this', aw 'that'. Sur. has the one form aw 'this, that' (cf. § 183.a).

A noun qualified by Ak. &c. av, but not aw, is normally followed by the defining suffix -a (§ 252.c)<sup>1)</sup> In Sur. there is some evidence of the distinction between aw ...-a 'this' and aw ... 'that', e.g.

Sur. 506 aw ganim-in kēsā ----- -- we took that wheat (ganim)

526 aw fēra ----- -- this trick (fēr)

The occurrence of the suffix -a with nouns qualified by av in the Oblique cases varies according to dialect. Thus the following combinations are attested :

'this'	Sur.	Ak.	Am., Bar.
Dir. Sg. & Pl.	aw ...-a 2)	av ...-a	av ...-a
Obl. Sg.M.	aw ...-a(y)	vī ...-a(y)	(a)vī ... (ī)
Sg.F.	awē ... (ē)	(a)vē ... (ē)	vē ...-a Am. } ... (ē) Bar. }
Pl.M & F.	--	vā(n) ... (ā)	vā ... (ā)
'that'	<u>all dialects</u>		
Dir. Sg. & Pl.	aw ...		
Obl. Sg.M.	(a)wī ... (ī)		
Sg.F.	wē ... (ē)		
Pl.M & F.	(a)vā(n) ... (ā)		

where the final bracketed forms represent the appropriate nominal inflection.

The fuller Obl. forms, awī &c., appear mainly following  
a pause.

++ Fn. 1. A Direct Pl. ending -ana in conjunction with  
av was said to exist in Ak., Am., but not generally  
heard, e.g.

Ak. - av kitēbana - these books

Am. - av tištana - these things

Cf. Bar. 728 av halwayna - these Halwais (people of Halwa)

++ Fn. 2. I.e. no M.Sg. Oblique form of the adjective  
aw was attested in Sur. This may have been fortuitous.  
In the Gul. texts the Direct form is often used for  
the Oblique, e.g.

Gul. 751 aw xazālē bikužīt - to kill that gazelle

750 bō mālā aw kāfirī - for the house of that monster

but 750 l wī milē wī - in that shoulder of his

(b) Examples. av &c.

Ak. 547 av mārā - this snake (mār M.)  
(māsī M.)

612 av māsīa či tkan - what are these fishes doing?  
(šiftī M.)

596 l vī šiftīay zyatir - other than this watermelon  
(tayr M.)

531 vī tayray nākiṛī - won't you buy this bird?

- l vē ôdē - in this room (ôda F.)

573 vē hālē - in this case (hāl F.)

622 mawjôdē vā pārā - what is present of these  
monies (pārā Pl.)

622 vān pārā .. bibava - take these monies

Am. 703 av kārā - this ass (kār M.)

- Am. 706 dē vī haywānī firōšī -- wilt thou sell this animal ?  
 --- (haywān M.)
- 706A ž vē dirka -- from this place (dirk F.)  
 ---
- 717 vē jāra -- this time (jār F.)  
 --- (mišk M.)
- 706 dē vā miškā dar ěxim -- I shall drive out these mice  
 ---
- Bar. 730 av bāžēra -- this town (bāžēr M.)  
 ---
- 726 l vī gundī -- in this village (gund M.)  
 ---
- 726 sarē vē škafē -- above this cave (škaf F.)  
 ---
- Zx. 775 av pīra -- this bridge (pīr F.)  
 ---
- aw &c.  
 ---
- Sur. 510 aw kōsay gōtē -- that swindler said to her (kōsa M.)  
 ---
- 515 tabī aw karay law mirōway har bistīnī -- thou must  
 --- certainly take this ass from this man  
 --- (kitēb F.)
- Ak. -- kā aw kitēb -- where are those books ?  
 --- M/F)
- 571 aw širīkē ma -- that partner of ours (širīk  
 --- M.)
- 539 hākimē wī jēy -- ruler of that place (jē M.)  
 --- M.)
- 544 awī mirōvī čī kir -- what did that man do ? (mirōv  
 --- M.)
- 527 čô bô wē mahālē -- went to that quarter (mahala F.)  
 ---
- 561 wān dizā ma'yan kir -- those thieves decided (diz M.)  
 ---
- 618 l wā sī hizār rūpīēt harām -- than those thirty  
 --- thousand illegal rupees
- Am. 706 aw mirōv -- those men  
 --- M.)
- 706 xalkē wī gundī -- people of that village (gund  
 --- M.)
- 706A wē dirkē -- in that place (dirk F.)  
 ---
- 709 awā tījārā dīt -- those merchants saw (tījār M.)  
 ---
- 710 a wā mirōvā -- to those men  
 ---



§ 264. (a) All dialects have a further, inflexible, demonstrative adjective, Sur. hē, Bar. hana, other dialects Ak. - Zx. ha(nē), QK. hān, BX.45 hā 'yonder, here'. It either follows the noun or pronoun it qualifies with the Izafe, or may appear independently with the Demonstrative Izafe, e.g.

Sur. -	<u>aw-ē</u> <u>hē</u> <u>ćia</u>	--	what is that (yonder) ?
Ak. -	l <u>ôdā</u> <u>hanē</u>	-	in that (yonder) room ( <u>ôda</u> F.)
546 a	<u>lālī</u> <u>binadārā</u> <u>hanē</u>	-	to that tree-trunk ( <u>binadār</u> F.) M.)
572	<u>qurbānī</u> <u>faqīrē</u> <u>hanē</u>	-	sacrifice of that beggar ( <u>faqīr</u> M.)
549	<u>yā</u> <u>hanē</u> <u>čēlaka</u>	-	yonder (thing) is a cow ( <u>čēl</u> F.)
551	<u>yē'</u> <u>hanē</u> <u>rīvīaka</u>	-	see! yonder is a fox ( <u>rīvī</u> M.)

It frequently appears in conjunction with either inflecting demonstrative adjective (§ 263), e.g.

Ak. 548	<u>av</u> <u>tāē</u> <u>hanē</u>	-	this (here) bough ( <u>tā</u> M.) F.)
Bar. 726	<u>sarē</u> <u>wē</u> <u>škaftā</u> <u>hana</u>	-	above that cave yonder ( <u>škaft</u> F.)
Zx. 773	<u>av</u> <u>pirā</u> <u>hanē</u>	-	this (here) bridge ( <u>pir</u> F.)
++	En. <u>yē'</u> with "emphatic"		double lengthening of the vowel and glottal stop.

(b) With this adjective the forms wē, wā, wēt of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 259.b) commonly occur forming, in effect, a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

Ak., Am.	<u>wē</u> <u>hanē</u> <u>či</u>	-	what is yonder thing ?
-	<u>wēt</u> <u>hanē</u> <u>čina</u>	-	what are those ?
Am. 719	<u>nīvakā</u> <u>wē</u> <u>hanē</u> <u>žadana</u>	-	in the middle of it (that place) there are roads

Gul. -- wēt ha yēt minin      -- those are mine  
 -----

		<u>Numerals.</u>			
	<sup>1)</sup>				
265.	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak.</u>	<u>An., Bar.</u>	<u>Zx., Gul.</u>	<u>Shn.</u>
1	yēk	yak, (y) ēk	ēk	=	=
2	dū	dô	=	=	dū
3	sē	sē	=	=	=
4	čār	čār	=	=	=
5	pēnĵ	pēnĵ	=	=	=
6	śaś	šaš	=	=	=
7	haft	haft	haft	haft	hāft (sic)
8	hašt	hašt	hašt	hašt	hašt
9	nō	na(h)	nah	nah	na
10	da	da(h)	da	dah	da
11	yāzda	yānzda	yānzda	yāzda	yānzda
12	dwāzda	dwānzda	dānzda	dwāzda	dwānzda
13	sēzda	sēzda	=	=	=
14	čārda	čārda	=	=	=
15	pāzda	pānzda	pānzda	pāzda	pānzda
16	śāzda	šānzda	šānzda	šāzda	šānzda
17	havda	havda	havda (sic)	havda	havda (sic)
18	hažda	hažda	=	=	=
19	nōzda	nōzda	nānzda	nōzda	nōzda
20	bīst	bīst	bīst	bīst	bīst
30	sī	sī(h)	sih	sih	sī
40	čil	čil	=	=	=



	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak.</u>	<u>Am., Bar.</u>	<u>Zx., Gul.</u>	<u>Shn.</u>
50	pēnĵa	pānĵa	pēnĵa Bar. pēnĵah	pēnĵī Gul. pēnĵih	pēnĵī
60	šēst	šēst	šēst	šēst	šēst
70	haftē	haftē	haftē	haftē	hāftī
80	haštē	haštē	haštē	haštē	haštī
90	nōt	nōt	=	=	nōt
100	sad	sad	=	=	=
1,000		hizār	=	=	hazār
1 m.		malyôn			

++ Fn. Sur., Ak., Shn. /p, t, k/ always aspirated,  
 Am. - Zx. /p, t, k/ unaspirated. Sur., Shn. /ō, ū/  
 = o:, u:, Ak. - Zx. /ô, û/ = u:, y:.

§ 266. (a) Cardinal numbers immediately precede the noun they qualify (v. § 262).

A cardinal used substantively or a noun qualified by a cardinal number takes the Plural Oblique ending -ā(n) (§ 255.b) when appropriate, e.g.

Direct.

Ak. 545 ava sē čār rōž-a - this is (now) 3 or 4 days  
 598 sē čār dirham habin - if there be 3 or 4 dirhams  
 Am. 705 sē mirôv rā wastyān - 3 men were standing

Oblique.

Sur. 510 az dē dūā dama tū - I shall give you two  
 Ak. 565 sēā pištīēt xō dā girtin - three put down their loads  
 (v. § 289.b)  
 545 sē čār qūnāyā - for 3 or 4 stages

Ak. 592 čār pēnĵ daf'akā - for 4 or 5 times (v. § 253.c)

Am. 704 šaš sindôqā čē ka - make six chests

(b) With certain numbers (generally "round" numbers - tens, hundreds &c.) the qualified noun may take the ending <sup>1)</sup> -ī, giving the sense of 'about ...', e.g.

Ak. 583 amrē wī gaštīa sad ô čil sālī - his age has reached  
about 140 years

++ En. See Cukerman, op. cit. p. 114, with many Rwn. examples.

§ 267. (a) Ordinal numbers follow the noun they qualify with the Izafe. They are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the morpheme -ē (cf. Rdz. § 191, also § 261.b), e.g.

Ak. &c. čārē - fourth, pēnĵē - fifth, nôṭē - ninetieth.

The final /a/ of the numbers 11 - 19 is absorbed by the ending -ē, thus :

sēzdē - thirteenth, haždē - eighteenth.

Note the following irregular forms :

	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak.</u>	<u>Am., Bar.</u>	<u>Zx., Gul.</u>	<u>Shn.</u>
1st.	hawwil	awwil(ī)	awwil	awwilī	'awil
2nd.	dwē	dwē	dôē	dôē	dūē
3rd.	sēyē	sēyē	sēē	sīē	sēē
30th.	sīē	sīhē	sihē	sihē	
50th.		pēnĵahē	pēnĵahē	pēnĵīē Gul. pēnĵihē	
70th.		haftēyē		haftīē Gul. haftē	hāftīē

(b) With large numbers only the last member takes the ordinal ending, e.g.

Zx. 787 sālā hizār ô nahṣad ô pēnĵī ô dōē -- in 1952 (in the 1950--and--second year)

### Pronouns.

#### Personal.

§ 268. (a) All dialects present a system of six personal pronouns, each with Direct and Oblique case forms. In all but Sur., however, the pronoun of the 3rd. person Sg. and Pl. is formally identical with the remote demonstrative pronoun and is described as such, § 270.

Suffix forms occur in Sur. only. They are :

Sg. 1. -im, 2. -it, 3. -ī,

Pl. 1. -īn (sic), 2. -ū, 3. -yān (cf. § 193.a).

The independent forms are :

Direct.

	1)			2)	
	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak.</u>	<u>Am., Bar.</u>	<u>Zx., Gul.</u>	<u>Shn.</u>
		3)	3)		
Sg. 1.	az	az	az	az	az
2.	atū	(a)tô	tô	tô	tū
3.	aw				
Pl. 1.	amā	am	am	am	am
2.	angō	hi/ung	hing	hūn	hūn
3.	aw(ān)				



## Oblique.

	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak.</u>	<u>Am., Bar.</u>	<u>Zx., Gul.</u>	<u>Shn.</u>
Sg. 1.	(a)min	(a)min	mi(n)	mi(n)	min
2.	(a)tū	(a)ta	ta	ta	ta
3.	(a)wī				
Pl. 1.	(a)ma	(a)ma	ma	ma	ma
2.	(a)ngō	(hi/u)ngō	(hi)nga Bar. hawa	wa	wā (sic)
3.	(a)wān				

## Notes.

- 1) See § 265. Fn. on realization of /p, t, k; ô, û/.
- 2) Cf. QK. 54, BX. 24, Dir. Sg. az, tu, Pl. am, hūn (BX hōn),  
Obl. min, ta, ma, wa.

3) In conjunction with the adverbial suffix Ak. -īš,  
and Am. &c. āī (§ 298.b) the 1st. Sg. Direct pronoun  
appears as Ak. ayš, Am. &c. aī, e.g.

Ak. 542	<u>ayš</u> dē .. kam	- I too shall do
561	<u>ayš</u> dizim	- I too am a thief
697	<u>aī</u> dē hēm	- I too shall come (Am. form)
Am. 704	<u>aī</u> dē .. hēm	- do.
Gul. 756	<u>aī</u> čôm	- I too went
Zx. 779	<u>aī</u> dē xō āvēžim	- I too shall throw myself in

(b) The personal pronoun forms have the same functions  
as the corresponding nominal case forms (§ 255.a).

The fuller Obl. case forms, amin &c., appear principally  
as agent in the Passive construction (§ 289) and generally  
after a pause. The shorter forms, min &c., appear in all



functions of the oblique case.

(c) Examples.

i) Direct.

Sur. 529	atū la bō atirsēy	- why art thou afraid ?
508	amā rūsin	- we are naked
522	ama-y kuštīn <sup>1)</sup>	- he has killed us
518	angō nābīnin	- do you not see ?
Ak. 534	az aḥmadē pīrikēma	- I am Ahmed (son) of the old (woman)
539	atō kī	- who art thou ?
545	min tō . . ināy <sup>1)</sup>	- I brought thee
561	am dizīn	- we are thieves
559	hung bō nāhēn	- why do you not come ?
560	hung kīna	- who are you ?
Am. 703	am dē bayn	- we shall take
707	hing žī harin	- go ye also !
Bar. 736	az kuṛē kēma	- whose son am I ?
Zx. 781	aw hūn čī tkin	- what is that you are doing ?

ii) Suffix.

Sur. 506	hinārd-im <sup>1)</sup>	- I sent (him)
529	kap-ī lē girt ū lē-y biṛī <sup>1)</sup>	- he seized his nose
		and cut it off
506	kārīnak-in čē kir <sup>1)</sup>	- we built a straw-store

iii) Oblique.

Sur. 509	nērīē tū	- thy goat
516	bifrōša ma	- sell it to us
519	la bō ngō	- for you

Ak. 533 mālā min	- my house
547 amin .. hal girt	- I picked (it) up
535 mālā ta	- thy house
554 ata .. dirô kir	- thou liedst
532 nadaya ma	- wilt thou not give it to us ?
556 dē ma xôt	- it will eat us
630 ama sūnd .. xār	- we swore an oath
534 birāē hungô	- your brother
546 bāpīrē ngô	- your ancestor
Am. 710 daynē mi bidanava	- give me back my loan
710 muqāwilā min ô hinga	- the bond between me and you
703 kēr ma nāhēt	- is no good to us
704A mā nga šôla	- is it any affair of yours ?
Bar. 735 mi sad dīnār .. dā	- I gave 100 dinars
727 min ēšārat dā hawa	- I gave you the signal
Gul. 768 nižda hāt sar ma	- a raiding party has come upon (us)
749 wasīā min l wa bit	- let this be my testament to you
Zx. 781 šarma bô wa	- it is a shameful thing for you

++ En. Agent oblique (Sur, suffix), v. passive construction

§ 289.

§ 269. (a) The reflexive pronoun has one form, Direct and Oblique, Sur. xō, Ak., Am., Zx. xô, Bar. xô, xwa, Gul. xwa, (QK.58, BX.36 xwa). It refers always to the subject of the verb or, in the Passive construction (§ 289), to the agent, e.g.

Ak. 531 dā batava bô xô (himself)  
- used to take it back for

Ak. 537 hung xanjarēt xô . . dā nēn -- put down your daggers

540 xô hižānd -- (he) shook himself

Am. 712 jû hāta daynē xô -- the Jew came for his debt

Bar. 726 qasrā xwa dā nā -- he placed his mansion

748 xûškā xwa bida min -- give me your sister


Gul. 750 das̄nivēžā xwa šûšt -- he performed his ablutions

(b) The pronoun xô &c. appears in conjunction with the weakened preposition bô (written bu, cf. § 114)<sup>1)</sup> with the intensive sense 'my-, him- &c. self', e.g.

Ak. 531 bu xô dā čita čyāy -- would himself go to the (mountains)

Am. 724 hačika xalkē wā gundā bu xôya -- as for the people of those villages themselves

Zx. 771 t nafsē zāxô bu xôdā -- in (the actual town of) Zakho (itself)

++ Fn. In some dialects evidently, with BX.32, bi xwa, e.g. from Nikitine's Shemdinani MSS,  "bi xô.

QK. 58 has xwa-xwa.

#### Demonstrative.

§ 270. (a) All dialects Ak. -- Zx. have two demonstrative pronouns, proximate and remote, each having Dir. and Obl. case forms. Sur. has only one such pronoun, awa 'this, that'.

The proximate pronoun, Ak. &c. awa, combines in the Direct case the forms of the demonstrative adjective av (§ 263) and the defining suffix --a (§ 252.c). The remote pronoun aw is formally identical with the corresponding



adjective (§ 263) and also serves as 3.Sg. & Pl. Personal pronoun (v. § 268.a).

The forms attested are :

Direct.	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak. &amp;c.</u>	( <u>QK. 57</u> )	( <u>BX. 45</u> )	
Sg.	awa	)	av(ā)	)	'this'
Pl.	?	( ava	(a)vānā	( av	
Oblique.					
Sg.M.	way	(a)vī	(a)vī	vī	
F.	?	vē	(a)vē	vē	
Pl.M & F.		vā(na)	(a)vānā	vān	
Direct.					
Sg.		)	aw(ā)	)	'that'
Pl.		( aw	(a)wānā	( aw	
Oblique.					
Sg.M.		(a)wī	(a)wī	wī	
F.		wē	(a)wē	wē	
Pl.M & F.		(a)wā(n)	(a)wānā	wān	
		Zx. wānā			

The fuller Oblique forms, avī &c., appear principally as agent in the Passive construction (§ 289) and generally after a pause.

(b) Examples.

i) Direct.

Sur. 524	awa	ćīa	-	what is that ?
Ak. 591	ava	yē xirāba	-	this one is bad
541	aw	kīa	-	who is that ?



- 1)  
Ak. 591 aw birava --- - that one was taken back  
535 aw tahayir mǎn --- - they were amazed  
Am. 710 awa ma čī kir --- - what is this we have done ?  
703 aw řā bôn --- - they got up  
710 aw nīna --- - is it not that ?  
Bar. 726 aw řī --- - he too
- ii) Oblique.
- Sur. - xatāē way bū --- - it was this one's fault  
Ak. 591 vī bibava --- - take this one back  
558 az .. vāna nāxôm --- - I shall not eat those  
565 awī čī kir 1) --- - what did he do ?  
534 birāēt wī --- - his brothers  
549 lālī wē --- - next to her  
535 birāē wā --- - their brother  
536 gōta wān 1) --- - said to them  
537 awān gōtē 1) --- - they said to him  
537 awā čī kir 1) --- - what did they do ?
- Am. 709 hīng dē .. awī danav min - you will give me that back  
703 karē wā --- - their ass  
706 awā gōtē 1) --- - they said to him  
Bar. 743 awī řīrak girt 1) --- - he seized a sword  
726 bō wān --- - for them  
Gul. 760 birāē wē hāt --- - her brother came  
749 bābē wān mir --- - their father died  
Zx. 772 řōlē wānā avaya --- - this is their work
- ++ Ph. Passive construction ~~awī gōtē~~, v. § 239.b.

Interrogative.

§ 271. (a) The following interrogative pronouns, and related adverbs, occur (cf. adjectives, § 262.a.ii) :

či (čī only prevocalic, in pause, and in the fixed adverb

bô čī 'why ?'), Oblique (rare) čē; Sur. ć(i) 'what ?'

čand, Obl. Sur. ćandī, Ak. &c. čandē 'how much ?'

čituv (Sur. kū, Gul. ? ku, Am. &c. čāwā) 'how ?'

kī, Obl. kē (Am. &c. kī, kē) 'who ?'

kangī 'when ?'

Am. kīšk (QK.62 kīžān, BX.51 kīžik) 'which ?'

Examples.

Sur. - ć-ū xwārd<sup>1)</sup>

- what did you eat ?

520 kū bū

- how was it ?

Ak. 537 awā či kir<sup>1)</sup>

- what did they do ?

560 hung či-na

- what are you ?

561 atô či tzānī

- what dost thou know ?

667 bar čē

- for what (reason) ?

Ak. 531, Am. 706 p čandē

- for how much ?

Ak. 595 čituv bô

- how was it ?

539 atô kī

- who art thou ?

564 kī kuṛē kē-a

- who is son of whom ?

546 lālī kē

- to whom ?

- kangī dē hēt

- when will he come ?

Am. 711 ma či kir<sup>1)</sup>

- what have we done ?

706A čī-a

- what is it ?

- kīna

- who are we / you / they ?

- Am. -- ava kē dā nā<sup>1)</sup> -- who put this down ?  
 712 čawā jū .. bibat -- how can the Jew take .. ?  
 Bar. 736 az kuřē kē-ma -- whose son am I ?  
 Gul. 756 ku lē hātin -- how have they fared ?  
 Zx. 774 kē kužin -- whom should we kill ?

++ Ph. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ V. § 289. **Passive construction.**

(b) The form kā(nē), Am. &c. kā(nē)<sup>1)</sup> contains the sense of a verb, 'where is, are .. ?', e.g.

- Ak. 613 kānē aw māsi -- where are those fish ?  
 Bar. 747 kā qōdiK -- where is the box ?  
 Gul. 764 kā xālē min -- where is my uncle ?

The following forms may take a preposition and are formally Oblique,

Ak. kērē, kē(n)darē (< kē darē 'what place', cf. § 85),

Am. kīrē (: kī dirkē) 'where ?'

Ak. kēva, Zx. kūva 'whither ?', e.g.

Ak. 645 dē kēva čī -- whither art thou going ?

Am. 711A ž kīrē -- from where, whence ?

Zx. 771 zāxô tkavit-a kūva -- where does Zakho lie ?

++ Ph. The same form has another, untranslatable, use, e.g.

Ak. 639 kā bizānīn čī haya, čī nīa -- let us go and

see what there is and what there is not

Am. 717 kānē dē tô čī l ma kay am t hāzirīn -- whatever

thou wilt do to us we are ready



Verbs.

§ 272. The verb has two simple tenses, namely Present and Past, formed from the present and past stems (§ 273) respectively.

The two simple tenses are modified by various modal affixes and particles (§ 274) to give a system in which distinctions of both tense and mood are made.

The past stem and past participle (§ 281) combine with tense forms of the substantive verb, the only auxiliary in this function, to form further, compound, tenses.

The full verbal system is summarized at § 285.

Stems.

§ 273. The simple tenses are formed from the present and past stems of the verb.

Verbs are normally quoted in the form of the infinitive verbal noun, which invariably ends in /n/. From the infinitive the form of the past stem is regularly predictable, viz. by the removal of the final /n/ and of the preceding vowel if this be /i/, e.g.

Ak.	čôn	'go'	:	čô-
	hātin	'come'	:	hāt-
	kirin	'do'	:	kir-, &c.

The present stem is not generally predictable from the form of the past stem or infinitive, or vice versa. Moreover, the differences between dialect forms do not



permit the formation of rules with any wide validity beyond the following :

i) When the past stem ends in /ī/ or /ū, ô/ the form of the present stem is that of the past stem less this vowel, e.g.

Ak.	biřī-	:	biř-	'cut'
	ziviřī-	:	ziviř-	'return'
	čô-	:	č-	'go'

ii) When the past stem ends in /ā/, the verb being intransitive, the last vowel of the present stem is usually /ē/ (cf. § 315.a), e.g.

Ak.	gařyā-	:	gař(y)ē-	'walk'
-----	--------	---	----------	--------

### Affixes and Particles.

§ 274. (a) Modal affixes.

Sur. a- (t- before vowels), Ak. (? Shn.) t- (i.e. t'-),  
 Am. - Zx. t- (QK.79, BX.149 di-<sup>1)</sup> prefixed to :  
 the simple present give the Present Indicative,  
 the simple past give the Past Imperfect tense.

b(i)- in all dialects (but v. § 292) prefixed to the  
 simple present gives the Present Subjunctive. b(i)- may  
 also be prefixed to the Imperative.

++ Fn. Traditionally the affix is written d(i)- in  
 general, t- only prevocally. A solitary exception  
 is the text of Huart, op. cit. (p. 201 above) where  
 t(i)- occurs throughout, e.g.

تبینی تزان تیزین

\*tibīnī, tizānī, tibēžīn &c. (cf. § 294.a.Fn.3).

Concerning the realization of t- see §§ 148, 153.

With čôn 'go' particularly the affix is frequently inaudible.

(b) Modal particles.

1)

dē in all dialects Sur., Ak. - Zx., Shn., employed with the simple present, forms the Future tense. (In QK.89 ē (wē), BX.149 dē with the Present Subjunctive form the Future).

1)2)

dā in all dialects, employed with the simple present, forms the Present Imperfect.

++ Fn. 1. In Gul., Zx. dē, dā may be reduced to enclitic ē, ā respectively after the personal pronouns 1.Sg. az, 1.Pl. am, e.g.

Gul.749 azē čim

- I shall go

759 amē .. kīn

-- we shall make ..

- amā vēřā gahīn

- we would have caught up with him (cf. §§ 304.c, 308)

Zx. 774 amē girīn

-- we shall seize

779 azē xō hāvēžim

- I shall throw myself

++ Fn. 2. dā is also a conjunction, employed regularly with the Present Subjunctive, 'in order that, &c.' (v. § 303.b), and a preverb (§ 293.a).

(c) Negative affixes.

1)

nā- in all dialects, prefixed to the simple present, forms the negative of the Present Indicative and Future

tenses (i.e. the particle dē, v. (b) above, does not occur in the negative).<sup>2)</sup> ---

na- in all dialects, prefixed to all the remaining tense forms (replacing b(i)- in the Present Subjunctive), gives the negative of these forms.<sup>2)</sup> -----

na- prefixed to the Imperative (replacing b(i)- where present) negates it. -----

++ Fn. 1. The irregular form ni- is employed in this function with the verb zānīn 'know' (in Sur. also ? with twānīn 'be able'). The verbs nāsīn 'know, recognize', šyān 'be able', vyān 'be necessary' and wērān 'dare' take the general negative affix na- in these tenses, not nā-. -----

++ Fn. 2. There are no recorded examples of the negative of the Present Imperfect tense.

#### Personal endings.

§ 275. Each tense distinguishes five persons by characteristic endings. These do not correspond entirely to the personal pronouns (§ 268) in that,

- i) the endings appropriate to the 2nd. and 3rd. persons plural (in QK, BX all three persons in the plural) are identical in form, and
- ii) no distinction of gender is made in the endings of the 3rd. singular.

There is a characteristic Imperative ending of the 2nd. person singular.



Present tenses.

§ 276. (a) The following tenses are formed from the present stem :

the Present Indicative and Subjunctive, with the modal affixes t- &c. and b(i)- (§ 274.a), negative nā- and na- (§ 274.c) respectively,

the Future and Present Imperfect, with the modal particles dē and dā respectively (§ 274.b).

All these tenses have essentially the following personal endings :

	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak., Am.</u>	<u>Zx., Shn.</u>	<u>Gul.</u>	<u>(QK, BX)</u>
Sg.1.	-im	-im	-im	-im	-im
2.	-ī	-ī	-ī	-ē	-ī
3.	-ī(t) -ī(tin)	-īt(in) <sup>1)</sup> -it- 2)	-it(in)	-it	-a
Pl.1.	-īn	-īn	-īn	-īn	)
2, 3.	-in	-in	-in	-in	( -in )

In conjunction with different stem finals these endings undergo regular modifications, given in detail below (b).

++ Fn. 1. I.e. Ak. -i:t', Am., Bar. -i:t.

++ Fn. 2. The form -it- occurs, in Ak. only, before the vowel of an enclitic. When, however, the complete verb is monosyllabic the full ending -īt is preserved, e.g. Ak. 531 dē čit-a čyāy - would go to the mountain but 616 čīt-a maktabē - goes to school



(b) Thus, when the present stem ends in :

i) a consonant, e.g. b- 'be', č- 'go'

	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak., Am.</u>	<u>Zx., Shn.</u>	<u>Gul.</u>	( <u>QK, BX</u> )
Sg.1.	abim	tbim	tbim	tbim	dibim
2.	abī	tbī	tbī	tbē	dibī
3.	abī(t) abī(tin)	tbīt(in)	tbit	tbit	diba
		Ak. tčit-			
Pl.1.	abīn	tbīn	tbīn	tbīn	)
2, 3.	abin	tbin	tbin	tbin	( dibin

ii) /ē/, e.g. (h)ē- 'come', Sur. nē- 'put'

Sg.1.	anēm/tēm	tēm <sup>1)2)</sup>	tēm	tēm	
2.	anēy	tēy	tēy	tē	
3.	anē(t)	tēt(in)	tēt	tēt	
Pl.1.	anēyn	tēyn	tēyn	) tēn (sic)	
2, 3.	anēn	tēn	tēn	( tēn	

iii) /a/, e.g. ka- 'do' (but Zx. &c. k-, as (i) above)

Sg.1.	akam	tkam	tkim &c.	
2.	akay	tkay		
3.	akat	tkat(in)		
Pl.1.	akayn	tkayn		
2, 3.	akan	tkan		

iv) /ō, ô, u/, e.g. xō-, xô-, xu- 'eat'

Sg.1.	axōm	txôm	txum	txum
2.	axōy	txôy	txwī	txwē
3.	axōt	txôt	txut	txut
Pl.1.	axōyn	txôyn	txwīn	txwīn
2, 3.	axōn	txôn	txun	txun

v) /ī/, e.g. girī- 'weep', rī- 'defecate'

	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak., Am.</u>	<u>Zx., Shn.</u>	<u>Gul.</u>
Sg.1.	ařīm		tgirīm	tgirīm
2.	ařī		tgirī	tgirīē
3.	ařī(t)		tgirīt	tgirīt
Pl.1,2,3.	ařīn		tgirīn	tgirīn

++ Fn. 1. Note the reduction before an enclitic in

Ak. 533 dā nim-a māl - I put down at home (nān, nē-)

but 685 rū nēm-a xārē - I shall sit down (ništin, nē-)

(cf. Am. nān, n- ; ništin, n-).

++ Fn. 2. In Am. an intrusive /h/, common in noun forms,

e.g. Am. bēhn : Ak. bēn 'breath &c.', may occur in

verbal forms also, e.g.

Am. 706 bēhn-a darva - (they) should come out

(cf. Nikitine, BSOS.3.89 \*bihēt-a ēra - he should come  
hither).

#### Substantive verb.

§ 277. (a) Beside the normal tense forms (§ 276.b.i) the substantive verb has an enclitic present tense,

	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Gul.</u>	<u>Zx.</u>	(QK, BX)
Sg.1.	-im	--im/-ma	=	--im/- <b>ma</b>	--im/-ma
2.	-ī	-ī /-y	-ē	-ī / ?	-ī /-yī
3.	-a, -t-	-a /-(y)a	=	-a /-ya, ?-na	-a /-ya
Pl.1.	-īn	-īn/-yna	=	-īn/?-(y)na	) -in/--na
2, 3.	-in	--in/-na	=	--in/--nin	

where the second forms in each case appear in postvocalic

position. The -(y)- of the 3.Sg. forms is realized after /a, ā, ? ô/. Examples.

- Ak. 589 az-im -- I am, it is I  
 536 az mēvānē ta-ma -- I am thy guest  
 544 dinyā hatāv-a -- the weather (lit. world) is (sunny)  
 549 kayfā ta-ya -- it is thy pleasure  
 560 hung kī-na -- who are you ?  
 561 am diz-īn -- we are thieves  
 653 am sē-yna -- we are three  
 Am. 705A t rā wastyāy-na -- they are standing

720 hačika xalkē amēdiē-na hamī kurd-in -- as for the  
 people of Amadiya they are all Kurds

Bar. 736 az kuṛē kē-ma -- whose son am I ?

Zx. - am sē čār .. ž kullīā ma-na -- we are 3 or 4 from  
 our college

771 zāxô .. sar mūsildā-na -- Zakho is in Mosul (province)

783 sih tā yē tēdā-nin -- there are 30 branches in it

(b) The negative of this form is independent, not enclitic.

	<u>Sur., Ak.</u>	<u>Am. - Zx., (QK)</u>
Sg. 1.	nīma	nīnim
2.	nī	nīnī
3.	nīa	nīna
Pl. 1, 2, 3.	nīna	nīnin

Examples.

- Ak. 535 dyār nīa -- it is not visible  
 596 ma nīna -- we have none (v. § 286.a)



Ak. 656 tāqatā madā nī - thou art not within our power

Am. 710 mā .. aw nīna - is it not that ?

719 ċi mināra wakī wē nīnin - there are no minarets like it

Gul. 770 ta šôl .. nīna - it is no affair of thine

Zx. 786 masalā dizīā .. nīna - there is no question of theft

### Imperative.

§ 278. (a) The Imperative is formed from the present stem by the addition, normally, of the prefix b(i)- (negative na-) and the following endings :

Sg. 2. -a, Pl. 2. -in, when the stem ends in a consonant,

--∅, --n, " " " vowel.

Thus, for example, when the stem ends in :

i) a consonant,

Ak. 531 bīna - bring ! (īn-)

558 bīnin - bring ye !

Am. - rû na - sit down ! (n-)

706 rû nin - sit ye down !

ii) /ē/,

Ak. 558 rû nē - sit down ! (nē-)

537 dā nēn - put ye down ! (nē-)

565 dā nin-ava<sup>1)</sup> - put ye down again !

iii) /a/,

Ak. 532, Am. 711A bika - // make ! (ka-)

Ak. 531 bida-va - give back ! (da-)

iv) /ô, ô, u/,

Ak. - bixô - eat ! (xô-)



Gul. - bixwa (but Zx. bixô) - eat ! (xu-)

v) /ī/,

Ak. - nagirī - don't cry ! (girī-)

++ Fn. From nē-, cf. § 276.b.Fn.1.

(b) The following Imperative forms from irregular stems occur :

Sur.505 harū - go !

Ak., Am. hara, harin - go !, go ye !

(nača, način - don't go ! (č-) are regular)

wara, warin - come !, come ye !

(nahē, Zx. na-ē - don't come ! ((h)ē-) are regular)

Gul. nawa, nawin - don't come !

Am., Gul.752 hilô - get up !

### Past tenses.

§ 279. (a) The Past tense is formed from the past stem and the appropriate personal endings. These are essentially :

	<u>Sur., Ak. - Zx., Shn.</u>	<u>Gul.</u>	<u>(QK, BX)</u>
Sg.1.	--im	--im	--im
2.	--ī	--ē	--ī
3.	--∅	--∅	--∅
Pl.1.	--īn	--īn	) ( --in
2, 3.	--in	--in	

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in :

i) a consonant, e.g. hāt/t- 'come'

	<u>Sur.</u>	<u>Ak. - Zx.</u>	<u>Gul.</u>
Sg.1.	hātim		hātim
2.	hātī		hātē
3.	hāt		hāt
Pl.1.	hātīn		hātīn
2, 3.	hātin		hātin
ii)	/ū, ô/, e.g. Sur. <u>bū-</u> , Ak. <u>bô-</u> 'be', Zx. <u>čô-</u> 'go'		
Sg.1.	būn	bôm	čôm
2.	būy	bôy	čôē
3.	bū	bô	čô
Pl.1.	būyn	bôyn	čôyn
2, 3.	būn	bôn	čôn
iii)	/ā/, e.g. <u>mā-</u> 'stay'		
Sg.1.	mām		mām
2.	māy		māē
3.	mā		mā
Pl.1.	māyn		māyn
2, 3.	mān		mān
iv)	/ī/, e.g. <u>girī-</u> 'weep', Zx., Gul. <u>bī-</u> 'be'		
Sg.1.	girīm	bīm	bīm
2.	(		) bīē
3.	) girī	bī	( bī
Pl.1,2,3.	girīn	bīn	bīn

§ 280. (a) The Past Imperfect tense is formed from the Past tense by the addition of the prefix t- &c. (§ 274.a), e.g.

Ak. &c. Sg. tbôm, tbôy, tbô, Pl. tbôyn, tbôn, &c.

Zx. Sg.1. tbīm, 2,3. tbī, Pl.1,2,3. tbīn.

Ak. thātim &c. is frequently reduced to tātim &c.

(b) In no Bad. dialect is a Past Conditional tense attested (cf. § 284.Fn).

In QK, BX such a tense is formed from the simple past tense by the addition of the prefix b(i)- and the following combinations of the "conditional" infix -ā- (sometimes repeated as a suffix) and the past personal endings :

Sg.1. --(ā)m(ā)

2. --āyī

3. --ā

Pl.1,2,3. --(ā)n(ā)

E.g.	<u>QK.101</u>	<u>Celadet BX</u> <sup>1)</sup> ("Hawar".26.15)
Sg.1.	bibūmā / bibūyāmā	bikatām
2.	bibūyāyī	bikatāyī
3.	bibūyā	bikatā
Pl.1,2,3.	bibūnā / bibūyānā	bikatān

This tense may further take the modal particles

QK. ē, BX. dē (v. § 274.b).

++ Fn. (Kamuran) BX.142 otherwise,

§ 281. (a) The Past Participle is formed from the past stem by the addition of the morpheme -ī, -y, thus :

Ak. &c. hātī, cōy, māy, girī

Ak., Am. bôn 'be' has the irregular participle bī, cf. Zx. &c. bīn 'be', participle regularly bī.

++ Fn. Cf. § 18.c.

(b) The Past Participle may function as an adjective, e.g.

Ak. - tē gahištī 'intelligent' (tē gahištin 'understand')

Zx. 777 awā čē kirī 'the artificial one' (čē kirin 'make')

See also the compound forms § 311.a.

### Compound tenses.

§ 282. (a) The Perfect Indicative I is formed from the Past Participle and the enclitic (Present) forms of the substantive verb (§ 277.a) as auxiliary.<sup>1)</sup>

++ Fn. In Gul. the only Perfect I forms attested are formed from the past stem and the auxiliary, viz.

Gul. - min dinyā nadīta - I have not seen the world

753 ta bō čī .. kušta - why hast thou killed .. ?

765 kasē .. nagōta min - nobody has said to me

(Past or Perfect ?)

Perfect II forms (v. (c) below) are, however, formed regularly in the Gul. texts.

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in :

i) a consonant, e.g. hāt/t- 'come'

Sg. hātīma, hātī, hātīa, (QK, BX. hātīma, hātīyī, hātīya,

Pl. hātīna hātīna)

ii) /ū, ô/, e.g. čū-, čô- 'go'

Sg. čōyma, čōy, čōya,

Pl. čōyna

iii) /ā/, e.g. mā- 'stay'



Sg. māy<sup>ma</sup>, māy, māy<sup>a</sup>,

Pl. māy<sup>na</sup>

iv) /i/, e.g. girī- 'weep', Zx. bī- 'be'

Sg. girī<sup>ma</sup>, girī, girī<sup>a</sup>, bī<sup>ma</sup>, bī, bī<sup>a</sup>,

Pl. girī<sup>na</sup> bī<sup>na</sup>

(c) In certain contexts (v. § 306) a Perfect Indicative II form occurs, in which the auxiliary verb loses the final vowel -a where it is present in Perfect I forms.<sup>1)</sup> Thus (cf. (b).i. above) : Ak. - Zx.

Sg.1. hātī<sup>m</sup>

2. hātī

3. hātī Sur. hātī

Pl.1,2,3. hātī<sup>n</sup> but hātī<sup>na</sup>

++ Fn. The appearance of the 1.Sg. and 1,2,3.Pl. forms with "postconsonantal" forms of the enclitic verb (§ 277.a) is deceptive. The loss of the vowel is probably on the analogy of the 3.Sg. form with the omission of the enclitic (cf. § 302.c).

§ 283. (a) The Perfect Subjunctive and Pluperfect tenses are formed from the past stem and the Present Subjunctive and Past tenses respectively of the auxiliary, Ak. bôn,<sup>1)</sup> Zx. bī<sup>n</sup> (§§ 276.b, 279.b).

++ Fn. The verb bôn &c. 'be' itself has the irregular reduced stem bi- in these tenses; thus Ak. has Perfect Subjunctive bibim &c., Pluperfect bibôm &c.

(b) Thus, when the past stem ends in :

i) a consonant, e.g. hāt/t- 'come'

Perfect Subjunctive.

Sg. hātbim, hātbī, hātbīt,

Pl. hātbīn, hātbīn

Pluperfect.

Ak. &c. hātbôm, -bôy, -bô &c. Zx. hātbīm, hātbī, &c.

ii) a vowel, e.g. čô- 'go'

Perfect Subjunctive.

Sg. čôbim, čôbī, čôbīt,

Pl. čôbīn, čôbīn

Pluperfect.

Ak. &c. čôbôm, -bôy, -bô &c. Zx. čôbīm, -bī, &c.

§ 284. A Perfect Conditional tense is formed from the past stem and a particular form of the auxiliary verb Ak. bôn,  
Zx. bīn,<sup>1)</sup> with the "conditional" infix -ā-, sometimes repeated, and past endings (§ 279.a). In Zx., Gul. the -ī- of the 1.Pl., and occasionally of the 2.Sg., ending is lost. Thus :

	<u>Ak., Am.</u>	<u>Zx.</u>	<u>Gul.</u>
Sg. 1.	čô- &c. -bāmā	-bām	-bāmā
2.	-bāyā	-bā(y)	-bāē
3.	-bā	-bā	-bā
Pl. 1.	-bāynā	) (-bān	-bān(ā)
2, 3.	-bānā		

++ Fn. The substantive verb has the irregular stem bi- in this tense (cf. § 283.a.Fn). The form may then

be further reduced, thus Perfect Conditional 3.Sg.

bibā > bā, giving the appearance of a Past Conditional  
tense (formed without an auxiliary verb from the past  
stem), but see § 280.b.

### Summary.

§ 285. The tense and mood system may be summarized as follows:

Present Indicative (§ 276)

t-kav-im

Future (§ 276)

dē kav-im

Present Imperfect (§ 276)

dā kav-im

Present Subjunctive (§ 276)

bi-kav-im

Imperative (§ 278)

bi-kav-a

Past (§ 279)

kat-im

Past Imperfect (§ 280.a)

t-kat-im

(Past Conditional (§ 280.b))

bi-kat-ām(ā)

Past Participle (§ 281)

kat-ī

Perfect Indicative I (§ 282)

katī-ma

Perfect Indicative II (§ 282.c)

katī-m

Pluperfect (§ 283)

kat-bôm

Perfect Subjunctive (§ 283)

kat-bim

Perfect Conditional (§ 284)

kat-bām(ā)Certain verbs.

§ 286. (a) The morpheme ha- with the verb bôn &c. yields the defective verb habôn &c. 'exist'. Commonly only 3rd. person forms are met (QK.71 has all persons, hama, hayī, haya, hana, but without examples). The negative is provided by the simple forms nīa &c. (§ 277.b).

In conjunction with the Oblique case of nouns and pronouns this verb gives the sense of possession. Thus :

Present Indicative I.	<u>Ak. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Sur.</u>
there is	haya	haya
there are	hana	hayna
I have	min haya, hana	
we have	ma haya, hana &c.	
Present Subjunctive.		
if there be	habīt, habin	
Past.		
there was, were	habô, habôn, Zx, habī, habīn	
Perfect I.	habīa, habīna	
Perfect II.	habī, habīn	
Perfect Conditional.	habā (cf. § 284.Fn)	







++ Fn. 1. The forms, Ak. navēm = haz lē nākam 'I do not like it', Zx. wān tvēn (: tvēt) 'they want', occur under the influence of the normal active verbs.

++ Fn. 2. Cf. § 274.c.Fn.1.

§ 288. (a) The forms tbīt<sup>1)</sup> (formally 3.Sg. Present) and tvyā (3.Sg. Past Imperfect of vyān, § 287) appear equally in the present with the meaning 'must, ought'. In the past tvyā only occurs. E.g.

Ak. -- či az bēžim tvyā tō rāst bikay - thou must do

whatever I say

-- tvyā nōka bičim -- I must go now

-- ān tbīt zū bičim ān har načim - either I should go soon or not at all

-- tvyā duhū čōbāmā -- I should have gone yesterday

++ Fn. Sur. tabī .. bistīnī - thou must take .., possibly for abī under the influence of Ak. tbīt.

(b) The particle bilā has the sense of 'let ...', e.g.

Ak. 662 bilā -- so be it ;

567 bilā hal girin -- let them take it up

See also § 303.c.

### Passive Construction.

§ 289. (a) The past and compound tenses of Transitive verbs are constructed passively throughout,<sup>1)</sup> e.g.

Ak. 546 bāpīrē ma .. l bahaštē hāvēta darē - our ancestor was thrown out of Paradise (hāvētin 'throw')



Ak. 567 sindôqā škāndī ----- - the Treasury has been  
broken (into) (škāndin 'break')

572 aw har sē diz birina lālī ----- - all three of those  
thieves were taken before him (birin 'take')

632 az darmān kirim ----- - I was treated with medicine

Am. 703 sē paz kuštīn ----- - three sheep were killed

705 zād īnā ----- - food was brought

Zx. 787 az ta'īn kirim ----- - I was appointed

781 az ô aw āšt kirīn ----- - he and I were reconciled

Frequently the Agent, though not expressed, is obvious from the context, e.g.

Ak. 531 rōžakē čôčyāy, tayrakē zēr girt - one day he went to  
the mountains (& by him) a gold bird was caught

532 aw .. harsēk birāēt yēk bôn, gôta xudānē tayrī -  
they were all three brothers (& by them) it  
was said to the owner of the bird ...

533 gašta birāē māztirē, milē xô l milē wī dā - "she"  
reached the eldest brother (& by "her") her  
shoulder was struck against his shoulder

Am. 706 aw rā bô, kētikak īnā darva - he got up (& by him)  
a cat was brought out

Zx. 774 aw hustāē kô av pīrā hanē āvā kirī .. - the mason  
who (by him) this bridge has been built

++ Fn. Only in Zx. are there occasional signs of the  
assimilation to the active conjugation of Intransitive  
verbs, e.g.



Zx. 775 kičik girtin ô kuštín - they seized the girl  
 -----  
 and killed her

(b) When an Agent is expressed it normally appears in the Oblique case, e.g.

Sur. - kāyaz-ū niwīsī )  
 ----- ( - have you written the letter ?  
 angō kāyaz niwīsī )

509 žinakē gā bird - the woman took the ox

509 wakī gā-y bird - when she took the ox

Ak. 533 žinakē gōtē<sup>1</sup>) - the woman said to him

536 aḥmadī sālī - Ahmed knew

539 hākimī .. gōtī<sup>2</sup>) - the governor said

538 min ašyāē hungō bir - I have taken your things

539 min tō 'afō kirī - I have forgiven thee

542 aḥmadī hākim t sindôqē nā - Ahmed put the governor  
 -----  
 into the chest

Am. 705 bālilī kētikak kir t barikā xōdā - Balil put a  
 -----  
 cat into his pocket

709 awā gōtē<sup>1</sup>), bilā - they said to him, "so be it."

The Oblique case endings may, however, be omitted

(Ø 255.a), e.g.

Sur. 508 mirōwaka gōta žinakē - the man said to the woman

Ak. 534 kābrā das hāvōta žinakē - the fellow reached for  
 -----  
 the woman

535 kas jābā wā nadā - nobody answered them

537 aḥmad gōtē<sup>1</sup>) - Ahmed said to him

Am. 707 bālil sē tanūrvān girtin - Balil took three bakers

++ Fn. 1. --ē, v. § 295.b.

++ Fn. 2. See § 303.b.Fn.

### Passive Periphrasis.

1)

§ 290. (a) There is no secondary passive conjugation.

The past tenses of all Transitive verbs have passive meaning (§ 289).

(b) To express a passive without reference to an agent recourse may be had to a periphrasis with the verb hātin 'come' and the preposition --a (§ 294.c) governing the infinitive of the Transitive verb, e.g.

Ak. -- watuv dē hēta kuštin -- that way he will be killed

-- sēvēt xirāb tēna istī'māl kirin bō 'alafē haywānā --

the bad apples are used for fodder

569 čand dizīē .. hātina kirin -- as many thefts as have  
been committed

569 sindôq .. yā hātīa škāndin -- the Treasury has been  
broken (into) (cf. § 289.a)

Zk. 773 wē hātī āvā kirin -- has been built (? for hātīa)

++ Fn. The solitary --rē- passive (cf. § 225) kirē-

'be done' appears in Ak., e.g.

Ak. -- watuvīš talafuz tkirēt -- it is pronounced thus (also

569 ma ču pē nākirēt -- nothing can be done by us

### Causative Conjugation.

§ 291. The Causative of an Intransitive verb is expressed by a secondary conjugation. The Causative verb is conjugated

regularly as a transitive verb.

The addition of the morpheme -īn- to the present stem of the Intransitive verb yields the present stem of the Causative verb. If the present stem of the Intransitive verb ends in -(y)ē- (v. § 315.a) this is displaced by the causative morpheme.

The causative past stem is formed by the substitution of the morpheme -ānd- for the -īn- of the present stem, thus :

Ak. kalīn/kalyān, kal-	'boil'	>	kalīn-, kalānd-	'boil'
diŕyān, diŕyē-	'tear'	>	diŕīn-, diŕānd-	'tear'
girīn, girī-	'weep'	>	girīn-, giryānd-	'make weep'
1)				
++ Ph. Cf. § 18.c.	<u>girī- + -īn-</u>			

#### Compound verbs.

§ 292. A simple verb may combine with either a preverb (§ 293) or a nominal form yielding a compound verb. These do not differ in form from simple verbs beyond the fact that the modal affix b(i)- (§ 274.a) does not normally appear with them, e.g.

Ak. 534 šyā .. lē war girīt	- he could take .. from him (war girtin)
534 řû nē	-- sit down ! (řû ništin)
Am. 704 šaš sindôqā čē ka	- make six chests ! (čē kirin)
but, with <u>b(i)-</u> ,	
Gul. 758 xudān bikē	- that thou mayest nourish him ((p) xudān kirin)



Particles.Preverbs.

§ 293. There are two types of preverb.

(a) The adverbs dā, dar, hal (Sur. har, Zx., Gul. hil), rā, rū, va (Sur. wa), war, and the suffix -(a)va (Sur. -(a)wa, Zx., Gul. -va). These modify the meaning of the simple verb, generally in an unpredictable way.

One function of the preverb va, alternating with -ava, is to give the sense of repetition, 're-'.  
-----

The suffix -(a)va &c. may appear alone, e.g.

Ak. 531 dā batava bō xō (himself) - used to take it back for

531 bidava - give it back ;

538 hatā ziviřīnava sah tkanē - by the time they  
-----  
returned they saw (that ...)

581 yē vēk hātīava - it has come together again

Am. 703 karē xō dītava l bin qēlīčkak - they saw their ass  
-----  
again under a nut-shell

Gul. 769, Zx. 775 ziviřīnva - they returned

Zx. 786 dē bīnītinva - he will see it again

or, in Ak., in conjunction with the preverb va, e.g.

Ak. 533 va gařyāva - he returned

534 darik bō va kirava - opened the door for him

562 dē va binava - (doors) will open

605 waxtē . . va xundava gāz kir - when he read it he  
-----  
(called

In Ak., Am. when a verb with the suffix immediately precedes a complementary adverb or an indirect object the



suffix appears as -(a)v (cf. § 169.a), e.g.

- Ak. 581 hātav xārē ----- - he came down again  
 581 ēzyā čôv žôr --- - the serpent went back inside  
 582 ava mārī dānav min --- - the snake gave me these  
 665 hātinav mazalkā kuřakaydā --- - they came back into the  
 boy's room  
 666 čônav bar dikān --- - they went back to the shop  
 Am. 708 dā bēhnav baydā --- - in order to return to Baghdad  
 709 dē .. awī danav min --- - you will give that back to me  
 710 čôv mālā xô --- - went back to his house

(b) The "absolute" forms of the simple prepositions, pē &c., and their derivatives, pēva, pēk &c. (§ 295.c).

#### Prepositions.

§ 294. (a) The simple prepositions immediately precede the nominal form they qualify, which is normally in the Oblique case. The following are attested :

- 1) (Sur. la (cf. § 230), QK, BX. li) 'at, from'<sup>2)</sup>  
 ---  
 p 3) (Sur. pa, QK, BX. bi) 'to'  
 ---  
 t 3) (Sur. ta, QK, BX. di) 'at'  
 ---  
 v 'to'  
 ---  
 ž Am. - Zx. only (QK, BX. ži) 'from'  
 ---  
 a 'to'  
 ---  
 bô (Sur. la bô, QK, BX. bônā) 'for' (v. also §§ 114, 269)  
 ---  
 hatā (Am. &c. haťā) 'till'  
 ---  
 bē 'without'  
 ---

gal, tgal, lgal (Sur. tagar, BX. digal) 'with'

wakô, hakô (Am. &c. wakī) 'like'

++ Fn. 1. Concerning the realization of these minimal forms see §§ 148, 153.

++ Fn. 2. English translations of prepositions are only intended as approximate labels.

++ Fn. 3. Ak. p', t', Am. &c. p, t. The traditional spelling is bi, di, with QK, BX. Huart's text (op. cit. on p. 201 above), however, agrees with these our dialects, having پ ت \*p(i), t(i) throughout (cf. § 274.a.Fn).

(b) Alone or in conjunction with the simple prepositions the following enclitic postpositions occur :

-dā (BX. da), -fā (BX. ra), -va (Sur. -awa, QK. -vā, BX. va),  
Zx. -wara.

Thus, in combination :

p ...-va 'with', t ...-dā 'in', t ...-fā 'into',  
Zx. ž ...-wara 'since', &c.

Note Ak. l bar-va-fā 'from in front', with two postpositions.

(c) a only occurs following a verb and is realized as an enclitic, e.g.

Ak. 544 hāt-a garmīānē - came to the low country

549 čôn-a lālī čēlē - they went up to the cow

Am. 713 čôyn-a čyāy - we went to the mountain(s)

Following a verbal form ending in /a, ā, ô/ the preposition a is not realized, e.g.

- Ak. 545 čô barakā kābrāy - went in front of the fellow  
 cf. 547 ziviřī-a barakā min - went back in front of me  
 581 čô žôr ô hāt-a darē - went inside and came out  
 Am. 704 čô nik nažārī - went to a carpenter  
 cf. 709 aw čôn-a nik - they went to (him)

(d) An Oblique nominal form, ungoverned by a preposition, may nevertheless have dative, ablative, locative &c. sense, e.g.

Ak. 540 har biskakē zangilak pēva kir - attached a bell  
 to each curl

550 az gôlik bôm mālā xudānē xô - I was a calf in  
 my master's house

- 555 hindak davē xô nā - he put some into his mouth  
 Am. 705 dā nā 'ardakī - they camped at a place  
 718 amēt .. tāxivīn āmēdīē - we are talking in Amadiya  
 Zx. 784 čôbīn makahē - they had been to Mecca

§ 295. (a) Corresponding to the simple prepositions  
 l, p, t, v, ž; a there are the following "absolute"  
 forms, lē, pē, tē, vē, žē ; ē.

The correspondence is not always regular, e.g.

- Am., Zx. - dā p miřā gahī - thou wouldst have met me  
 dā vēřā gahīn - we would have met him

bô and tgal &c. are also employed absolutely.

- ++ Fn. Although ž hardly occurs in Ak. žē appears as  
 a preverb, e.g. žē kirin 'pluck (fruit)'.

(b) The absolute forms of the prepositions, with the



exception of ē, stand independently. They do not govern another form, but give the sense of a 3rd. person pronoun governed by the preposition, e.g.

Ak. 541 gardanā xō pē āzā kam -- so that I may take leave  
of them (free my neck from them)

558 sē mirōvēt lē -- there are three men in it

584 kābrā tgal čō -- the fellow went with him

Am. 703 gōšt žē rā bō -- the meat rose out of it

714 am .. žē firsyāyn -- we were afraid of (from) them

ē, like a (§ 294.c), is always enclitic following a verb, e.g.

Ak. 536 sah tkat-ē -- he looks at them

547 hindak āx min bō kir-ē -- I put some earth into it  
for him

Am. 712 daynē wī jū dā-ē -- gave the Jew's loan back  
to him

(c) With the postpositions -dā, -rā, -va the absolute forms pēdā, pēva, tēdā, tērā &c. are formed.

The absolute forms lēk, pēk, tēk, vēk, ? žēk appear with the meaning of '... one another' and the appropriate preposition (cf. § 251.c), e.g.

Ak. 553 lēk rā nābirin -- they do not pass by one another

559 am .. pēk hātīn -- we have come together

549 vēkrā -- with one another, together

(d) The absolute forms of the simple prepositions, pē &c., and their derivatives, pēva, pēk &c., may function as



preverbs (v. § 293.b).

The simple prepositions are generally "separable" (v. § 231.d), e.g.

Ak. 584 l dargāy dā - he knocked at the door  
 ---  
 (l/lē dā 'knock (at)')

The derivatives are generally "inseparable", e.g.

Ak. 540 har biskakē zangilak pēva kir - attached a bell  
 -----  
 to each curl (pēva kirin 'attach')

In Gul., Zx. certain inseparable preverbs and adverbs have joined with the verbal stem and are preceded by the modal prefixes &c., e.g.

Gul. - az šivē nālēnim - I shall not cook supper  
 - bilēna - cook it ! (lēnān : Ak. lē nān)  
 Gul., Zx. - daynān - to put down (: Ak. dā nān)  
 Zx. 774 nāčēbīt hōšā - it will not get built thus  
 (čēbīn : Ak. čē bōn)

§ 296. The simple prepositions form prepositional phrases with nouns, adjectives and certain adverbs. The preposition may be omitted and the noun &c. appear alone with prepositional force. The noun &c. may be followed by the Generic Izafe (§ 257.d). Examples,

Noun.

Sur. 505 harū maz maḥ - go to the sheep  
 -----  
 517 la bō maz yē xwārē cō - he went in front of the  
 -----  
 lower one

Ak. - l bin sivānday - under the eaves  
 -----

Ak. 548 dē hēt-a bin sēbarā min - will come under my shade  
 570 dē .. nik ta řā birim - I shall pass by near thee  
 571 harsēk inān-a bar salbē - all three were brought  
 to the gallows

572 sar taxtē xō řū ništ - sat on his throne  
 626 pēš darwēšī kaft - he went ahead of the dervish  
 690 hāvēt-a pišt xō - put her behind himself

Noun + Izafe.

Ak. passim pāšī hingī - after that, afterwards  
 Am. passim pištī hingī - do.  
 Ak. 638 birin-a barī bābē xō - he took them before his father  
 Adjective.

Ak. 647 nēzikī dah pānzda řôžā - for approximately (near to)  
 ten or fifteen days

Am. 714 šibatī gurg - like, such as wolves  
 Zx. 735 haťā nēzik řazā - till near the gardens  
 Adverb.

Ak. - darva-y māl - outside the house  
 Zx. 773 ž darvay zāxō - outside Zakho

§ 297. Various pre- and postpositions appear with formally plural nouns with the connotation 'manner', e.g.

Ak. - mir tirsēt xōdā - he died of fright (in his  
 own fears) (tirs)  
 - mir tirsādā - do.

Gul. - dilē min tēšit ž birsā - my stomach aches with  
 hunger (birs)

Zx. - davē min hišk bī š tēhnā - my mouth is dry from  
 ---  
 thirst (tēhn(i))

784 š tēhnā kaṭbīn hamī - they had all collapsed  
 ---  
 from thirst

### Adverbs.

§ 298. (a) A nominal form, Sg. or Pl., formally Oblique may have adverbial sense (cf. § 294.d), e.g.

Ak. 531 hamô rōžē - every day, daily  
 553 hinda rōžā - for some days  
 545 sē čār qūnāyā hāt - he came for 3 or 4 stages  
 548 hāvīnē, waktē garmē - in summer, in the time of heat  
 573 vē halē - at this time, then  
 631 čōma bilādā mi'āmilē - I went to (many) countries  
 ---  
 trading

Am. 703 naqlakē - once (upon a time)  
 705 qōnāyakē čōn - they went for one stage  
 Gul. 749 način nēčīrē - do not go hunting

(b) The suffix -(i)š/s 'also' occurs in Ak. and Sur. only, e.g.

Sur. 506 šiwānīšim girt - I took a shepherd also  
 Ak. 555 ta daviš lē dirūbō - hadst thou sewn the mouth  
 ---  
 of it too ?  
 561 awīš diza - he too is a thief  
 569 wānīš gōtē - they too said to him

The form -š/s appears following a vowel, e.g.



- Sur. 506 hingī-ś-in har āwēt -- then too we winnowed it  
 514 hindak pāray mā-ś-awa -- he had a little money left too  
 Ak. 545 ava-š -- this also  
 550 nōka-š -- now also  
 657 wē rōžē-š -- that day also  
 Ak. 700 malā-yš 'the mullah too', is exceptional.

In other dialects the independent forms Am. žī,  
 Gul., Zx. žī/i, occur with the same meaning, e.g.  
 Am. 703A hākimī žī karak habō -- the governor had an ass too  
 Gul. 752 aw ži kir t xānīva -- put him in the house too  
 Zx. 782 gundī ži dē čin -- the villagers also will go  
 790 mi žī zahmatī .. diť -- I had trouble too

With the 1st. person pronoun az the following  
 contractions occur, Ak. ayš, Am., Zx. aži (cf. § 268.a.3).

- Preceding žī the adjective dī 'other' appears as di, e.g.  
 Am. 706A galakēt di žī -- many others also  
 719 dargahē di žī -- the other gate too  
 Zx. 785 hinda trumpēlēt di žī -- some more cars also

Contrast dī used substantively in

- Bar. 732 sad dī žī -- a hundred others also

(c) The suffix -ānī with nouns has the sense 'in the  
 manner of ...', e.g.

- Sur. 529 xōśxōśānī cōē -- he went to it gently  
 Ak. - 'arabkānī swār bō -- he rode Arab-fashion  
 543 sānī fawī -- he barked like a dog (sa)  
 543 karānī ziřī -- he brayed like an ass



## SYNTAX.

Concord.

§ 299. (a) Since nouns in the Direct case are formally identical in the Sg. and Pl. (§§ 252, 254.b) only the verbal personal ending indicates the number, thus :

Ak. - mirôv čô / čôn	- the man / men went
611 aw bičûk čôn	- those children went
Am. 706 mišk dar kaftin	- the mice came out

The concord between personal pronoun and verb is straightforward. The following are obvious anacolutha :

Ak. 560 hung .. bibēža (for \*bibēžin) - say (ye) !

562 az dē šēm xô lē xilās kayn - \*I can free us from it

(b) A noun marked by a plural Izafe form (§ 258.a) normally takes a plural verb, e.g.

Ak. 565 sēā pištiēt xô dā girtin - three put down their loads

566 harsēkā pištiēt xô xālī kirinava - all three  
emptied their loads again

but, 566 ma pištiēt xô yēt dirust kirī - we have made up  
our loads

(c) Two or more nouns joined by the conjunction ô, w 'and' or the preposition tgāl &c. 'with' constitute a plural subject and take a plural verb, e.g.

Ak. 546 ču hēva w hôva nīna - there is no shilly-shallying

556 řivīak tgāl qurbašayakī bôna širīk - a fox and a  
badger became companions

Am. 709 bāak ô bārān hātin - a wind and rain came

Gul. 751 šīr ô matalēt xwa girē dān -- he girt on his sword  
and shield

Zx. 781 az ô aw āšt kirin - he and I were reconciled

Relative and Subordinate clauses.

§ 300. (a) In all dialects Ak. - Zx. the inflexible particle  
kô serves to introduce subordinate clauses, e.g.

Ak. 538 saḥ tkanē kô tištē wān yē birī - they see that  
their things have been taken

548 dē rā bīt kô dē ōit - he will get up to go

587 dīt kô sa'idē rû ništīa -- he saw that Said was sitting

Am. 708A rā bōn kô bārēt xō bār kirin - they got up (so  
that) they loaded up their loads

Zx. 787 mi natzānī .. kô tadrīsāt .. p kurdīa - I did not  
know that the teaching was in Kurdish

(b) A relative clause is normally joined to its antecedent  
by the appropriate form of the Izafe (§ 257), e.g.

Ak. 578 har kasakē xāin bīt - whatever person be treacherous  
1)

579 har kasakē māramak habā - whatever person might  
have a desire ..

606 aw pārēt .. ta dāna min - those monies which thou  
gavest me

Am. 710 tištē min dāyav hinga - the thing which I gave you

Zx. 774 aw kasē awwillī bēt - that person who comes first

With the omission of the enclitic substantive verb

form described § 302.c the distinction between a relative clause and an adjectival phrase is formally removed, e.g.  
Ak. 543 aw hākimē t sindôqēdā sānī rawī - that governor

(who is) in the chest barked like a dog

Am. 707A aw tištēt binē bahrēdā - those things (which are)  
at the bottom of the sea

When the relative clause is separated from its antecedent it is introduced by the appropriate form of the Demonstrative Izafe (§ 259.a), e.g.

2)  
Ak. 575 azē hātīma wē dasrôkā zērā, yā subay zû filān kasī  
Ināy - I have come for that kerchief(ful) of gold  
which so-and-so brought early this morning

Gul. 757 aw azim yē birāē ta az kuštīm - I am he whom thy  
brother has killed

++ Fn. 1. See § 286.a.

++ Fn. 2. See § 306.

(c) Alternatively a relative clause may be introduced by the particle kô, with or without the Izafe, 1) e.g.

Ak. - sar āvā kô tčīt l drēžāiā galī - over the river  
which goes along the valley (āv F.)

535 kāyazak dīt kô yā nivīsī - (they) saw a letter (in)

which was written .. (kāyaz F.)  
2)

593 aw masalā kô az bô hātīm - that question about  
which I have come (masala F.)

Zx. 774 aw hustāē kô av pīrā hanē āvā kirī - the mason who  
built this (here) bridge (hustā M.)



++ Fn. 1. The particle kô may even intrude in the normal Izafe construction (§ 257.b), e.g.

Ak. 622 awē kô xudānē pāra - he, the owner of the money

++ Fn. 2. See § 306.

### Use of Tenses.

§ 301. (a) The Present Indicative has aorist sense, e.g.

Ak. 561 atô či tzānī - what dost thou know ?

562 (akar sa biřawīt) az tē tgahim aw či tbēžīt -

(if a dog barks) I understand what it says

Am. 719 tbēna dargahakī dargahē zēbārē - they call one gate

the Zebar Gate

The sense of continuity, of a state or action in progress, is given by a construction described in detail at § 302.

(b) Future time is expressed by the simple present tense and the modal particle dē (§ 274.b). The particle dē normally comes at the beginning of the sentence or clause, either preceding or following a subject expressed, e.g.

Ak. 539 az dē kičā xô damē - I shall give him my daughter

541 dē ta kama sindôqēdā - I shall put thee into the chest

545 dē tô p min va day - wilt thou strike me ?

Am. 704 ažī dē gal hinga hēm - I too shall come with you

706 tô dē vī haywānī firôšī - wilt thou sell this animal ?

717 dē tô či l ma kay - whatever thou wilt do to us

Gul. 756 am dē mālā xwa bīn - we shall take our home



§ 302. (a) The Demonstrative Izafe (frequently reduced to an enclitic vowel indistinguishable from the Individual Izafe, v. § 259.b)<sup>1)</sup> appears with the Present Indicative tense (§ 276) giving the sense of a state or action in progress, i.e. of a Present Continuous tense, e.g.

Sur. - az wē tē gam - I understand  
 - xawīn wā tē - we are sleepy (our sleep  
 is coming (xaw F.), v. § 276.b.ii)

Ak. - maryamā txôt, azē nāxôm - Miriam is eating, I am not  
 - dastē minē tēšīt - my hand is aching (dast M.)  
 - xawā minā tēt - I am sleepy

559 hākimē mūsilē yē kāyazā tnivīsīt - the governor of  
 Mosul is (constantly) writing letters (hākim M.)

557 amē čēčikēt xō nanāsīnava - (now) we do not  
 recognize our own cubs

633 azā tbīnim - I (female) can see

Am. 707 čand rōža azē nānī dama hinga - how many days is  
 it that I am giving you bread ?

718 amēt .. tāxivīn - we are talking

Gul. - azē nānī txum - I am eating

Zx. - xawā minē tēt - I am sleepy

777 šôlē xō yē tkin - they are doing their work

777 amē tbīnīn - we can see

781 ava .. wē p min kanitin - he is laughing at me

Shn. - xawā mi wā tēt - I am sleepy

++ En. In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe

appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe,

Bar.742 ava k̄āfirakī tētīn - there is a monster coming  
(cf. (c).Fn. below).

(b) The same construction occurs with the enclitic present tense form of the Substantive verb (§ 277.a) when the predicate is a simple nominal form,<sup>1)2)</sup> e.g.

Ak. 533 azē misāfir-im - I am (temporarily) a traveller  
Contrast,

Ak. 561 ayš diz-im - I too am a thief

619 az bisilmān-im - I am a Moslem

With adjectives the same temporal sense may be given,  
e.g.

Ak. 548 mār yē haq-a - the snake is in the right

538 čand malyôn t kēm-in - how many millions are short ?

616 dikān yā qapāt-kirī-a<sup>3)</sup> - the shop is shut

Am. 717 am t hāzir-in - we are ready

The Demonstrative Izafe may, however, only give the adjective "substantive" force (cf. § 259.a.ii), e.g.

Ak. - hakō mārī yē xār-a - he is as crooked as a snake

548 av tāē hanē yē bāš-a bô hinjār - this (here) branch  
is a-good-one for a plough-arm

539 řidīnā wī yā řaš-a - his beard is a-black-one

Am. 718 āmēdiē . . yā hisār-kirī-a<sup>3)</sup> - Anadiya is walled round

++ Fn. 1. The following examples have unexplained forms,  
possibly Secondary Izafe out of normal context :

Sur.508 amā řūs-in ū a birsī-na - we are naked and hungry

Sur. 520 hata azi sax-im -- as long as I am well (alive)

-- azi majbūr-im -- I am obliged (to go now)

Shn. -- awī nivistī-a -- he is asleep

but -- aw yā nivistī-a -- she is asleep, regular.

++ Fn. 2. Cukerman, op. cit. p. 139, using texts of varying provenance, describes a similar construction with the Secondary Izafe in place of the Demonstrative. He does not, however, differentiate between the temporal construction, the simple "substantivized" adjective and the "phrase introduced by a preposition" (v. (c) below), though all three types appear in his examples, e.g.

Temporal. azi karīb-im -- I am a stranger

sōsika wastyāy-a -- (the mare) Sosik is tired

Substantivized.

wardaka zāfa āqil bū -- Wardak was very clever

qasra badaw bū -- the palace was beautiful

Prepositional.

mīrī na l māl -- the Mir is not at home

++ Fn. 3. When the adjective is a past participle (§ 281.b) this construction may contrast with a verbal construction in which no substantive verb is expressed (v. § 306), e.g.

Ak. 587 dīt kō sa'idē rū-ništī-a l sar taxtī -- he saw  
that Said was seated on a chair

Contrast,

Ak. 543 dīt hākimē ākrē yē rū ništī l sar taxtē xō --

he saw the governor of Akra was



sitting on his throne

Zx. 777 jô .. yē .. šaq kirī - the canal has been

split off (from the river)

(c) When the predicate of an affirmative sentence or clause is a phrase introduced by a preposition, or is simply an absolute preposition (§ 295), it is joined to its subject by the Demonstrative Izafe,<sup>1)</sup> whether the sense is aoristic or continuous. The enclitic present form of the Substantive verb is then omitted, generally in the 3rd. person Sg. and Pl. and optionally in the other persons, e.g.,

Ak. - minē gu lē - I hear (my ear is to it)

(street

533 mālā minā l filān ĵādē - my house is in such-and-such

538 kāyazakā l wē darē      - there is a letter there

544 mārak yē t nāv bafrēdā - there is a snake in the snow

568 sē mirôvēt lē - there are three men in it

572 awēt wē āxiŋtinedā      - they are engaged in this talk

616 ĵantak yā l barē dikānakē - there is a bag (lying)

in front of a shop

Am. 718 galak bināyātēt kavnēt lē - there are many old

buildings in it

718 amēdiē yā l sarē girakī - Amadiya is on a hill

Gul.768 kufilik .. yā t sēnikā wīdā -- there is a rissole

in his tray

Zx. - azē l vē ôdē(-ma) - I am in this room

- anē(t) l vē ôdē(-yna) -- we are in this room

777 filahēt lē-na - there are Christians in it



When the sentence contains a main verb the Izafe in this construction may also be considered as joining a relative clause (without a verb) to its antecedent (cf. §§ 300.b, 306.b), e.g.

Ak. 543 aw hākīmē t sindôqēdā sānī rawī -- that governor  
(who is) in the chest barked like a dog

The construction is not affected when the relative clause has a different subject to that of the main sentence, e.g.

Zx. - bāžērē kičikā minā lē galak dīra - the town, in  
which my daughter is, is very far away

In a phrase introduced by waxtē &c. 'when' the Demonstrative Izafe is omitted (cf. § 306,b), e.g.

Ak. 616 waxtē īrāq t dastē anglēzīdā -- when Iraq was in  
the possession of the British

++ Fn. In the following example the Demonstrative Izafe appears to be replaced by the Secondary Izafe, Bar.734 *ava širakī dastē dalālakidā* - there is a sword in the hands of a broker (cf. (a).Fn. above).

303. The Present Subjunctive is employed :

(a) in subordinate clauses, whether introduced by a conjunction or not, e.g.

Ak. 556 hīlayakē bika dā ., xilās bibīn -- make some ruse  
that we may be saved

55'7 dē šarī kayn hatā gurg bibēžita ma - we shall fight

so that the wolf says to us ..

Ak. 561 min nākana širīkē xō, gal hungō bēm - won't you

make me your companion, that I may come with you ?

Am. 703A fā bōn dā čina āšī - they got up to go to the mill

708 kārē xō kir dā bēhnav baydā - they made their

arrangements in order to return to Baghdad

(b) with the conjunction dā, with jussive force, e.g.

Ak. - dā bizānīt namāya -- he should know that there  
is none left

533 dā bičim, ĵarikē xō dā nima māl - let me go and

put my water-pot down at home

544 dā namirītin sarmādā - it ought not to (be left  
to) die of cold

626 dā bičina māl - let us go home

(c) following tvyā &c. 'must, ought' and bilā 'let ..'

(v. § 288, with examples),

(d) following certain verbs, e.g.

Ak. 684 az našēm bēm - I cannot come (šyān)

574 min tvēt .. paydā bītava - I want it to be found (vyān)

600 az haz kam bizānim - I would like to know (haz kirin)

684 malā nawērā dar kavītin - the mullah durst not go  
out (wērān)

§ 304. (a) The Present and Past Imperfect tenses (§§ 276.a, 280.a) are practically coextensive, the Present being the more common, in giving the sense of a repeated or habitual action or state in the past, e.g.

Ak. 543 hakô mândī tbô dā gurēl kat - whenever he became  
tired he would roll it

550 hamô sālē dā šīrī l min xôn -- every year they would  
drink milk from me

595 žinā wī har živīn tdānē, ahmad har dā girīt - his wife  
kept abusing him (and) Ahmed wept all the time

Am. 707A harô spēda yā zû dā řā bīt -- he would get up every  
day at early dawn

Bar.730 aw dā bičûkēt xalkī kušitīn - he used to beat people's (children

Zx. 774 hindī .. āvā tkir .. dā pīr jārak dī kavitin -

however much he used to build it up the  
bridge would always fall down again

(b) The Present Imperfect also gives the sense of an action &c. about to take place, e.g.

Ak. 545 naxô dā mirī -- otherwise thou wast about to (die

547 av māra t nāv bafrēdā bô, dā mirīt l sarmā - this  
snake was in the snow, dying of cold

682 dā rā bītin, .. šôlā xirāb .. bikatin - he was going  
to get up and do something evil ..

Ex. 780 azā qutīm . . aw žī dā mi qutit - I was about to hit  
him, he too was going to hit me

(c) The Present Imperfect appears in the apodosis of certain Conditions (§ 308) and in suppositions, even when the condition is not expressed, e.g.,

Ak. -- xôzī min dīt**bā**, dā tôlā xô lē va kam - I wish I could  
see him, (were I to do so) I would take my revenge



§ 305. (a) The Past tense is the normal narrative tense, describing a state or action in the past, e.g.

Ak. 547 amin .. hal girt, dā nā jandikēdā .. davē jandikē  
 min dirû ô jandik min hāvēta pištā xō - I picked it  
 up, put it in the bag, sewed the mouth of  
 the bag and put it over my shoulder

Am. 704 bālil čô, kētik girtin, kirin t sinôqādā - Balil went,  
 caught some cats and put them into the chests

(b) The Past tense is also employed for recently perfected actions, e.g.

Ak. 536 la'bēt xō min hamô bīr kirinava - I have (just)  
 forgotten all my tricks again

559 am .. pēk hātīn - we have come together

A long completed action &c. is expressed by the Perfect or Pluperfect tense, e.g.

Ak. 567 ta zānīa či qawmīa - hast thou learnt what has (happened) ?

582 wa dyāra aw l min 'adālattir bīa - evidently he was  
 more just than I

595 atô bīa mēvānō ahmadī - wast thou Ahmed's guest ?

579 awī či kirbô, .. awī zangilak .. dirist kirbô,  
 zinjīrak vē ēxistbô - what did he do (had he done) ?  
 he (had) made a bell and fixed a chain to it

§ 306. (a) The Perfect Indicative I (§ 282.a) is employed only in the negative and interrogative and in some subordinate clauses. In affirmative statements (including relative clauses) the Demonstrative Izafe, or a reduced





not all of it (wājib F.)

Bar. 732 azē dayndār bīm - I have become indebted

Gul. - min šivā lēnāy - I have cooked supper (šiv F.)

Zx. 773 pīraka .. wē hātī āvā kirin - .. is a bridge

(which) has been built

776 aw dārā banôkē .. wē māy - that terebinth tree

still remains (has remained)

(b) The Demonstrative Izafe is omitted from this construction in a relative clause introduced by an Individual or Demonstrative Izafe (cf. § 300.b, 302.c), e.g.

Ak. 575 .. dasrôk .. yā filān kasī ināy - the kerchief

which so-and-so brought

593 aw masalā kô az bô hātīm - that question about

which I have come

(contrast,

588 azē hātīm bô masalak - I have come about a question)

An. 710 tištē min dāyav hinga .. biđanav min - give me back

the thing which I have given you

Zx. 774 aw hustāē kô av pīrā hanē āvā kirī - the mason

who has built this (here) bridge

Likewise, in clauses introduced by waxtē &c. 'when' and similar temporal adverbs the Perfect II appears without the Demonstrative Izafe (cf. § 302.c), e.g.

An. 703A waxtē čōyn-a āšī - when they went to the mill

Bar. 731 waxtē sē čārak kuštī - when he had beaten 3 or 4

Gul. - waxtē az čōym sūkē - when I went to the market

Zx. 776 pištī kô pīr āvā kirī -- after the bridge was built

Occasionally the Demonstrative Izafe is omitted in  
 1) other contexts, e.g.

Ak. 580 sarē xô hāvētī / yē hāvētī-a kalābā zinjīrē -- has  
 put its head in the hook of the chain

583 'amrē wī gaštī-a 140 sāli -- his age has reached  
 some 140 years

++ Ph. The Ak. form gôtī 'he said', in contrast to gôt-ē  
 'he said to him', might be explained as such a Perfect  
 II without the Demonstrative Izafe from gôt-. The  
 Past Imperfect in Ak. 309 min tgôtī 'I used to say',  
 however, suggests a secondary past stem \*gôtī-.  
 The same example (Ak. 313 min gôtī, also), having a  
 1.Sg. agent, rules out any immediate connection with  
 the Sor. construction gôt-ī 'he said' (cf. § 319).

### Conditions.

§ 307. Present and future, possible conditions.

(a) In the protasis the Present Subjunctive, or where  
 appropriate the Future tense, appears, e.g.  
 Subjunctive.

Ak. - agar xudē nādat, nādat -- if God does not give (a  
 thing) He does not (and there is an end)

546 dužmin bigata dužminī -- if one enemy meet the other

562 akar sa biṣawīt -- if a dog should bark

562 akar ma bigirin -- if they should catch us



- Am. 712 az bisilmān bim - if I am a Moslem  
 Gul. - haḳar xalīl bēt - if Khalil should come  
 Zx. - haḳar min pāra habin - if I were to have monies  
 Future.

- Ak. 569 akar dē ma galbīš kay - even if thou wilt hang us  
 573 dē tōba kan - if you will repent

(b) If the action of the apodosis must, of necessity, follow that of the protasis in time then the Past tense may appear in the protasis, e.g.

- Ak. - agar jilkēt bāš min dītin dē bō ta kiřin - if I see  
 any good clothes I shall buy them for thee  
 553 akar dužmin gašta dužminī lēk rā nābirin - if one  
 enemy meet the other they do not pass one another (by)

- Gul. - haḳar xalīl hāt bēža wī - if Khalil comes tell him

§ 308. Past, impossible conditions.

The Perfect Conditional tense is used in the protasis and the Present or Past Imperfect in the apodosis, e.g.

- Ak. - agar az zūtir čōbāmā dā bīnim - if I had gone earlier  
 I would have seen (him)  
 - hakar min tiving vē bā<sup>1</sup>) dā kužim - if I had had a  
 gun with me I would have killed it  
 - hakar ta nakuštā ta fīlār natkir - hadst thou not  
 killed him thou wouldst not have fled  
 Am. - haḳa tō dirangtīr hātāyā dā p miṛā gahī - if thou  
 hadst come later thou wouldst have met me  
 Zx. - haḳar am nahātān awī am natdītīn - if we had not



come he would not have seen us

++ En. See § 284.En.

§ 309. The particle Ak., Am. xôzī, Gul. xwazī, Zx. xuzī  
'would that ..' is always followed by the Perfect Conditional  
tense, regardless of the possibility or otherwise of the  
realization of the wish, e.g.

- |      |   |                              |   |                                |
|------|---|------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| Ak.  | - | xôzī aw <u>subay hātbā</u>   | - | would he were coming to-morrow |
|      | - | xôzī nōka <u>hātbā</u>       | - | would that he would come now   |
|      | - | xôzī min tō <u>dītbāyava</u> | - | would that I could see thee    |
|      |   |                              |   | again                          |
|      | - | xôzī min tō <u>dītbāyā</u>   | - | would that I had seen thee     |
| Am.  | - | xôzī am <u>hātbāynā</u>      | - | would that we had come         |
| Gul. | - | xwazī tō <u>čôbāē</u>        | - | would that thou wouldst go     |
| Zx.  | - | xuzī hūn <u>čôbān</u>        | - | would that you had gone        |

+ + +

## WORD FORMATION.

(All references, unless otherwise stated, to Ak. only)

Compounds.

§ 310. Two types of Copulative compound occur.

(a) Compounds of two nouns or adjectives joined by the conjunction *ô* &c. 'and' are not common, but do occur, e.g.

kār-*ô*-bār 'affairs' (work & ? load)

sar-*ô*-čāv 'face' (head & eyes)

tayr-*ô*-tawāl 'birds' (bird & ? )

ēk-u-dô 'one another' (one & two)

(b) Morphemes indicating the making of some noise occur reduplicated with the compound vowel *-a-* (cf. § 246.c), e.g.

bilq-a-bilq 'bubbling'

huš-a-huš 'rustling'

kus-a-kus 'whispering'

xiř-a-xiř 'snoring'

Nouns or morphemes occur reduplicated and with the "diminutive" suffix *-ôk* (§ 313), e.g.

viřviřôk 'whirligig' (viř- 'whirr')

xālxālôk 'lady-bird' (xāl 'spot')

xāzxāzôk 'mumper, cadger' (xāz- 'beg')

§ 311. Determinative compounds may be dependent or descriptive. However formed such compounds frequently take a "diminutive" suffix *-ik*, *-ôk* &c. (§ 313).

(a) Dependent compounds are of two types :

i) A noun qualified by another noun in some case relation

to it, generally genitive. Such compounds may appear with the qualifier preceding the qualified, but more commonly are inverted, and with the compound vowel --a--, e.g.

gil-kan	'clay-pit'
ma-čētir	'ghost' (us - better, cf. Np. <span>از ما بهتران</span> )
rôž-āvā	'sun-set' (āvā bôn 'set')

Inverted,

birā-zāvā	'best man' (brother of bridegroom)
gul-buhār	'marigold' (flower of Spring)
kuř-xāl	'cousin' (son of maternal uncle)
kûra-gēč	'lime-burning-pit' (pit for lime)
žin-bāb	'step-mother' (wife of father)

and, with compound vowel,

āv-a-māst	'curds & water mixed' (water of curds)
bar-a-āš	'millstone' (stone of mill)
fālk-a-pûnk	'mint sweet' (lump of mint)
žān-a-sar	'headache' (ache of head)

ii) A verbal stem, or past participle, restricted by a preceding object, e.g.

Stem.

didān-kēš	'dentist' (tooth-puller)
daz-gir	'fiancé(e)' (hand-holder)
mēr-kuž	'murderer' (man-killer)
māsī-gir(ik)	'kingfisher' (fish-catcher)
sar-šô	'bath-attendant' (head-washer)
(cf. sar-šô-k	'bath-house')



## Participle.

kār-kirī	'adorned' (adornment-made)
<u>tīl</u> -dāy	'bulging' (bulge-given)
xūn-girtī	'bloody' (blood-covered)
daz-bardāy	'spendthrift' (hand-opened)

(b) Descriptive compounds consist chiefly of a noun qualified by an adjective or, rarely, a noun in apposition. The latter follows the noun qualified in,

bā-kurūva	'sleet' (wind - snow)
-----------	-----------------------

A qualifying adjective may precede the noun it qualifies, e.g.

du-dav-ōk	'pickaxe' (two-mouth)
mē-kaw	'she-partridge'
řaš-māl	'black tent'
ziř-bāb	'step-father' (barren-father)

or follow it, e.g.

daḥla-řaš-ik	'blackberry bush' (thorn - black)
kunamērū-sūār	'large, long-legged ant' (ant - mounted)
māsī-xiř-ik	'tadpole' (fish - spherical)
paz-kūvī	'moufflon' (sheep - mountain, wild)
tū-mirī	'inedible mulberry' (mulberry - dead)

and, with compound vowel,

Am. kirm-a-sōr-ik	'caterpillar' (worm - red)
kēz-a-řaš	'cockchafer' (beetle - black)

A small group of descriptive compounds is formed with the negative prefix *na-*, e.g.

na-xōš	'un-well',	na-hiš	'un-conscious'
--------	------------	--------	----------------



§ 312. Secondary Adjectival compounds may be possessive or prepositional.

(a) The Possessive compounds are generally descriptive compounds with possessive meaning, e.g.

du-rû	'two-faced'
grān-bā	'(one) who sells dearly'
zila-qûn-k	'dragonfly' (straw-tail)

and, inverted,

bēn-tang	'impatient, depressed' (breath - tight)
čīrik-drēž	'boring, garrulous' (story - long)
dû-maqas-ik	'earwig, swallow' (tail - scissors)

Zx. hastī-sivik	'handsome' (bone - light)
xûn-šīrīn	'handsome' (blood - sweet)
nāvčāv-šin	'glum' (forehead - blue)
sar-rût	'bald' (head - bare)

Am. sar-taši	'dragonfly' (head - spindle)
pirč-zar	'blond' (hair - yellow)

(b) The preposition p forms an infinite number of adjectival compounds, e.g.

p-čak	'armed',	p-laz	'in a hurry'
p-hīvī	'hopeful',	p-šyārī	'attentive(ly)'
p-sānāl	'easy',	p-tišt	'pregnant'
p-hawas	'happy',	p-xabar	'faithful'

Other examples of prepositional compounds are :

bē-xwē	'tasteless' (without salt)
--------	----------------------------

An. t-xaw	'asleep' (in sleep)
-----------	---------------------

pěš-čāv	'famous' (before eyes)
bar-dast	'available' (before hand)
bar-pirs	'responsible' (before question)

### Suffixes.

§ 313. The following suffixes form nouns :

-ī, forms abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g.

---  
 'ējizī 'anger', grānī 'famine', kôraī 'blindness',  
 lāyiqī 'suitability', sārī 'coldness', sivikī 'ease',  
 šyārī 'attention', tûraī 'peevishness', xûndārī 'feud'

-āī, -ātī, -yātī, ditto, e.g.

-----  
 drēžāī 'length', pānāī, pānātī 'breadth',  
 dužminātī 'enmity', kičikātī 'smallness', kavnātī 'age',  
 māzinātī 'bigness', Bar. māzinātī 'rulership',  
 sôryātī 'redness', sivikyātī 'flippancy'

-īnī, -ānī, ditto, e.g.

-----  
 dôstīnī, dôstānī 'friendship', havālīnī 'comradeship',  
 lāvānī 'youth(fulness)'

-(i)k, Am. &c. generally -(i)k̄, forms derived nouns of  
 -----  
 various meanings, some of which may be classed as  
 "diminutive". Often the meaning of the simplex is  
 completely unaltered and the suffix optional. E.g.  
 Am. āxûrik̄ 'sandfly', bālīfik̄ (-ik̄) 'pillow',  
 bařik̄ (-ik̄) 'rug', barik̄ 'pebble, fruit stone',  
 bērik̄ 'shovel', Am. barxiķ̄ 'lambkin',  
 dôrik̄ (-ik̄) 'round loaf', guhārik̄ (-ik̄) 'earring',

hirmī, Am. -k 'pear', jôlān, Am. -k 'hammock',

lihēfik (-ik) 'quilt'

--ôk, Am. &c. --ôk, ditto, e.g.

-----  
binafšôk 'violet', Am. banôk 'terebinth tree',

banīštôk 'chewing gum', bāzinôk 'armlet',

bizmārôk 'corn, callus', dudavôk 'pickaxe',

qalafilôk 'nose-stud' (qalafil 'clove'),

kangir(ôk) 'edible thistle', Ex. liyāvôk 'bridle',

tayrôk 'butterfly', zimānôk 'uvula'

--lik, --lka, rare, form diminutives, e.g.

-----  
pēšûlka 'mosquito', \*pišîlka '\*kitten' (in

pišîlkā mīrā 'thistledown'), spîlik 'egg-white'

--ôšik, rare, forms diminutives, e.g.

-----  
baqmārôšik 'type of lizard', dāpîrôšik 'spider'

--ān, --āna, --ānē, form the names of games, e.g.

-----  
hōlān 'polo', čamkāna 'hockey',

dāmānē 'draughts', gōlānē 'football',

katīkānē 'five-stones', xō-lōk-dānānē 'wrestling',

lukmānē 'boxing', muhr-ô-xatānē 'heads or tails',

mātānē 'marbles', sartirinjān(ē) 'chess'

--vān, --avān, --čī, form nouns of trades or skills, e.g.

-----  
nēčîrvān 'hunter', Am. tanûrvān 'baker',

ašavān 'miller', barxavān 'lambherd',

kāravān 'kid-herd', řazavān 'gardener',

laymačī 'sapper' (Tk. lağımcı)

--kar, --kār, form nouns and adjectives meaning 'doer of ...',

-----



e.g. šaṛkar 'aggressive, fighter',

hārikār 'helper, assistant'

§ 314. The following suffixes form adjectives :

-ī, forms adjectives from nouns, e.g.

---

binī 'underneath', gundī 'village, rural',

pīvāzī 'pink, onion-coloured', qahwaī (Shn. qahwāy)

'brown, coffee-coloured', qirēžī 'dirty'

-ôk, Zx. -ô, rare, forms adjectives of quality from nouns,

---

e.g. tirsôk 'cowardly',

Zx. gilīzô 'dribbling, slobbery', kilmīšô 'snotty'

-dār, forms adjectives meaning 'possessed of ..', e.g.

-----

birīndār 'wounded', dayndār 'in debt',

kôvāndār 'injured', xūndār 'at feud'

§ 315. (a) The "regular" Intransitive verb is characterized

by the past stem Ak. &c. -yā-, Gul., Zx. -hā-, infinitive

-yān, -hān, present stem -(y)ē-, -hē- respectively, e.g.

Ak. biryān, biryē-, Zx. birhān, birhē- 'cease'

Ak. gaṛyān, gaṛ(y)ē-, Gul. gaṛhān, gaṛhē- 'wander'

Ak. řižyān, řižyē-, Zx. řižhān, řižhē- 'pour, flow'

The corresponding Transitive verb is a Causative construction from the same stem (v. § 291).

(b) The same morphemes, Intransitive -yā-, -yē- (-hā-, -hē-), Transitive -ānd-, -īn-, also form denominative

verbs, particularly from loanwords of Arabic origin, e.g.

Ak. 'alimāndin, 'alimīn- 'teach',

habāndin, habīn- 'love',



Ak. qatyān, Gul. qathān 'finish, come to an end',  
qatāndin 'finish, bring to an end'

Ak. halyān, Zx. halhān 'melt',  
halāndin 'melt'

(c) In Zx. the morpheme --āndin may also form infinitive verbal nouns from Transitive present stems although the past stem is not in -ānd-, e.g.

Zx. nivīsī, nivīs- 'write' : nivīsāndin F. 'writing',  
daynā-, dayn- 'put down' : daynāndin F. 'putting down'

+ + +

## PART IV - DIALECT GROUPING.

§ 316. Of the historical sound-changes which distinguish dialects within the Kurdish family two may be considered of major significance. As will be seen, both are reflected in the morphology of the dialects.

(a) O.Ir. inter- and postvocalic /m, p/ yield /v/ in all the dialects described in Part III except Sur. (viz. Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., Shn., QK., BX.), /w/ in all the dialects of Part II and Sur. (viz. Sul., War., Bin., Piš., Muk., Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur.), e.g.

		<u>Ak. &amp;c.</u>		<u>Sul. &amp;c.</u>	
Av. nāman-	>	nāv	:	nāw	'name'
hāmīna-	>	hāvīn	:	hāwīn	'summer'
gāman-	>	gāv	:	han] gāw	'pace'
Av. āp-	>	āv	:	āw	'water'
xšap-	>	šav	:	šaw	'night'
*fšu.pāna-	>	šivān	:	šwān	'shepherd'

This development of /m/ affects the proximate demonstrative adjective. In Ak. &c. the form av &c. (§ 270) < O.Ir. ima- is distinct from the remote demonstrative aw < O.Ir. awa-. In Sur., Muk. and the Sor. dialects the two demonstratives fall regularly together in the form aw &c. Only in Sul. & War. is the /m/ irregularly preserved, and with it the distinction between proximate and remote demonstratives am : aw (§ 188) (cf. Barr, op. cit. p. 183, Ann.).

The development of /p/ is reflected in the common preverb Ak. &c. va (-(a)va) (§ 293.a), Sul. &c. -awa (§ 229), cf. N.Pers. bāz, vā (Mann, Muk. § 59) < \*apāčā or \*apāk- respectively (Henning, ZII.9.231).

(b) The regular outcome of O.Ir. suffix -aka in Kd., reflected even in loanwords, appears to be War. -iğ (Sinna &c. -ig), Sul., Bin., Piž., Muk. -ū, Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur., Ak. &c. -ī, e.g.

	<u>War. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Sul. &amp;c.</u>	<u>Arb., Ak. &amp;c.</u>	
Sinna	dazig	: dazū	: dazī	'thread'
	hařig	: -	: hařī	'mud'
	māzig	: mǎzū	: mǎzī	'gall-apple'
	rōžig	: rōžū	: rōžī	'fasting'
War.	xāniğ	: xānū	: xānī	'house'
	zīniğ	: zīndū	: zindī	'alive'

This development is most regularly seen, however, in the past participle of all verbs (§§ 207, 281)

< O.Ir. \*-ta-ka-, e.g. War. hātiğ : Sul. hātū : Arb., Ak. hātī 'having come'.

§ 317. Other sound-changes are best epitomized by a comparison of the phonetic systems of the various dialects. Of those studied :

i) War. is alone in possessing the phoneme /ğ/, i.e. continuant realization of /g/ (§ 67 ff.). Its phoneme /ǧ/ occurs as an allophone of /d/ in Sul. only (§ 32).

War. is also the only dialect to show the regular reduction



of /st/ to /s/ (§ 72.b).

ii) War. & Sul. are marked off from all other dialects by the phoneme /ŋ/ (§ 28), the diphthongs of classes (c) and (d) (§ 13 ff.), and the reduction of /nd/ to /n, ŋ/ (§§ 57, 72) (with its bearing on the causative conjugation, /-āndin > -ānin/, § 227).

iii) War., Sul., Bin., Piž., ? Muk. alone have /ö/ (§§ 6, 77) and /ɹ/ (§ 39).

iv) Arb., Rdz., Xoš., Sur. regularly replace /ɹ/ by /r/ (§ 96). Other dialects have /l/ for Sul. &c. /l and ɹ/. The same dialects, Arb. &c., regularly have /č, ĵ/ for common /č, ĵ/ (§ 97).

v) Sur., although it has the same phonemic system as Arb., is marked by a number of phonetic divergences (§ 100 ff.).

vi) The dialects of Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx. &c. are differentiated from those of Sul. &c. by the "emphatic" phonemes /ṭ, ṣ, ẓ/.

vii) The dialects of Am., Bar., Gul., Zx., QK. present two groups of consonant phonemes, aspirate and unaspirate /k̟, t̟, p̟ : k, t, p/ (§ 152), in opposition to Sul. - Ak. (and, possibly, Shn., BX. &c.), which have only one, aspirate, series /k̟, t̟, p̟/.

viii) Ak., Am., Bar., Gul., Zx. with Hak. & Bot. form a unique group with the modified realization of /ô, û/ as u:, y: (§§ 115, 155.a).

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A further, but less definite, distinguishing feature



between certain dialects, here represented by Sul. & Ak, respectively, is the incidence of consonant groups. The difference between Sul., with 75 possible initial groups, and Ak., with 12, is most striking. On the other hand the "algebraic" realization of secondary consonant groups in Ak., Am. &c. (§§ 148, 153) is not found in Sul. &c..

§ 318. The main line of distinction between what may conveniently be called N(orthern) and C(entral) dialects of Kd. can be seen to run between the dialects of Ak., Shn. &c. on the one hand and Arb., Rdz., Muk. &c. on the other, with Sur. necessarily taking an intermediate position. On either side of this line there appear, apart from the phonetic items mentioned above (§§ 316.a, 317.vi), a number of contrasting morphological features.

i) A major distinction lies in the system of personal pronouns - with suffix forms in the case of the C. dialects, including Sur., (§ 192), without suffix forms in the N. dialects (§ 268).

ii) The suffix pronouns have a variety of functions (§ 193.b) of which the most characteristic is that of Agent in the Agential construction of the same C. dialects (§ 217). This construction, with its obligatory Agent, contrasts with the simpler Passive construction of the N. dialects (§ 289). The contrast is heightened by the faculty of the C. dialect verb for taking two verbal endings (§ 224). In Bin., Piž. alone of the C. dialects

is there any reflection of the N. construction (§ 219 Note).

iii) Apart from the Passive construction of the past tenses of all transitive verbs the N. dialects have no Passive conjugation. A present Passive can only be expressed by a periphrasis (§ 290). In contrast all the C. dialects have a fully-developed secondary Passive conjugation (§ 225).

iv) While an indefinite nominal suffix appears in all Kd. dialects in the form -ēk or -ak (§§ 173, 253) a corresponding definite suffix -aka is found only in the C. dialects, including Sur., and to a lesser extent in Ak. (§§ 171, 252.b). Cognate with this there appears a general demonstrative suffix -a in all C. dialects (§ 172) which is restricted to proximate demonstrative use in the N. dialects Sur., Ak. - Zx. (§ 252.c). The most important use of this suffix is in the open compound construction (§ 132), which is not found in the N. dialects.

§ 319. In the main the systems of nominal inflection for number, gender and case, and including the Izafe, are contrasted on either side of the same line. A number of Northern features do, however, appear in modified form below the line. Thus :

i) All N. dialects have a distinction of grammatical gender in the Singular, manifest in the case endings (§ 255) and the Izafe (§ 258). This distinction is preserved in the C. dialects of Muk., Arb., Rāz., Xoš., but only in the case endings (§ 177). With the gender distinction preserved



in the Bin., Piž., (Muk.) Izafe (§ 180) and 3rd. singular personal pronoun oblique (§ 192), as well as in the nominal case endings, these dialects go together with the Northern dialects.

ii) Corresponding to the Singular Oblique case endings the N. dialects have an exclusively Oblique Plural ending -ā(n) (§ 255.a). This same ending forms a general plural in all C. dialects (§ 174), whether the dialect has a case system or not.

iii) The specifically Plural Izafe forms -ēt &c. of the N. dialects (§ 258) are found also in Bin., Piž., Muk. as -ī da (§ 180.c).

§ 320. The verbal systems of the various dialects offer the following contrasts :

i) While all dialects from Bin., Piž. northwards have a modal prefix da- (§ 200.a), or t- < di- (§ 274.a), Sul. and War. have a-. This must be taken as a separate entity (with Barr, op. cit. p. 221, Ann.), and not as a form of da-, since (a) initial /d/ is not lost completely in any dialect (cf. § 32), and (b) the two prefixes appear together in Rdz., Sur. where /d/ is quite stable.

ii) The formation of a Future tense with an independent modal particle dē &c. is restricted to the N. dialects, including Sur. & BX. (§ 274.b). The temporal and other use of various forms of Izafe with the verb (§§ 302, 306) is likewise a feature of the N. dialects from Sur. to QK.,

with no equivalent in the C. dialects.

§ 321. From the following diagram it will be seen that there are two major lines of division between the dialects treated here :

(a) that between Arb. (Sur.) and Ak., dividing Centre from North, and

(b) that between Sul. and Bin. &c., dividing the more archaic Central dialects (Sor. & Muk.) from those of Sul. and War., with their leaning towards the Southern group.

Diagram pp. 291 - 2.



**Diagram  
overleaf**

ØØ	War.	Sul.	X X Y	Bin., Piž.	Muk.
317.vi, vii.			Nil		
318.iv.			-aka		
316.a.	am : aw		X X X		aw
316.a.			-awa (wa)		
318.i.			Suffix pronouns		
318.ii.			Agential construction		
318.iv.			Open compound		
319.i.	Izafe	I	X X X X X	I : ē ( )	
319.iii.	Nil		X X X	I da	
319.ii.			-ān	general Plural	
318.iii.			Secondary Passive		
320.ii.			Nil		
316.b.	-iğ			-ū	
319.i.	Nil		X X X X X	Gender	
320.i.	a-		X X	da-	

Arb., Rdz. X      Sur.      X      Ak.      Am., Bar.      Zx., Gul.      Shn.

X  
X  
Y

X  
X  
X

"emphatic" consonants

X  
X  
X  
X  
X

(      ) unaspirated series (      )

X

X

X

X

Demonstratives

X

av : aw

X

Preverbs

X

va (-va)

X

X

Nil

X

X

(      )

X

Passive construction

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

X

Izafe

ē : ā

Plural Izafe

ēt &c.

-ā(n) Oblique Plural

Periphrastic Passive

Modal particles & Izafe with verb

Past Participle

-ī

manifest

in

Case

endings

a- / da-

Modal prefix

t-

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It has been confirmed that the continuant realizations of the Sul., War. phonemes /t, d/ in certain contexts (v. §§ 31, 32), represented here as t̪, d̪ respectively, are in fact identical and both to be represented as d̪. This necessitates the following corrigenda.

§ 12. Read: "e is invariably a half-close, central vowel, accompanied by a raising of the tip of the tongue towards the position of realization of a dental stop. Phonemically it is, in fact, a realization of /t/ or /d/ (q.v. §§ 31, 32).

§ 13. (c) Read: "a half-close, central vowel e; i:e, ɛe, ɛ:e, aə, a:e, o:e, and u:e." Delete (d) entirely and (last line) aɪ.

§ 16. Delete entirely.

§ 17. Read: "The vowel e is a realization of the phonemes /t, d/ (q.v. §§ 31, 32). The diphthongs of class (c) therefore represent /t̪it, it, ɛt, at or ad, ɛt or ɛd, ɔt, and ɪt/."

§ 18. (a) 1. 5. Delete: "even bɪk'am".

1. 9. Read: "nɛ:fi:næ ... /nɛrɪnat .../"

§ 31. Read: "The /t/ of the pronominal suffix /-(i)t/ (v. § 193.a) alone is generally realized as a vowel e (§ 12), forming diphthongs of the class (c) (§ 13). This alternates, however, with the consonantal realization and it is therefore necessary to mark the variant realization e as /t̪/. Following /i/ in final position this /t̪/ is frequently not realized. E.g.

't̪i:t ~ 't̪i:e k'ɪdu:a /ɕit ~ ɕit̪ kirdūa/  
'bɪt, grɪm ~ 'bɛe, grɪm /bitgirim ~ biɪgirim/  
sɛ:wɛ:k'ɪt ~ sɛ:wɛ:k'ɪ a'əamɛ /sɛwɛki(t) adamɛ/

§ 59. Delete: "... with two additions (cf. § 70)."



¶ 61. Read: "/ɪ/. Before /d̥, ɡ/ (v. ¶ 70 below) and /t̥/ (¶ 31), /ɪ/ is more close than otherwise, i.e. it is a close, front-central vowel ɪ, e.g.

ha:'t̥ɪɡ̃im /h̃atiɡ̃im/, 'b̃ɪka: /bi̯tk̃a/ "

¶ 70. 1. 5 from end, read: "necessary to mark the variant realizations e, ə as /d̥/ and ɟ as /ɡ̃/, e.g. ..."

¶ 71. (a) 1. 3, read: "realized as e, forming the diphthongs aɐ, a:ɐ, e.g. ha:ɐ /h̃āt/, karɐ /k̃arat/ Ar. karra<sup>t</sup> "

¶ 71. (c) 1. 3, read: "realizations ha:ɐ, k̃au &c."

1. 6, read: "by writing /h̃āt̥, kaw(t)/ &c."

¶ 74. Delete entirely.

¶ 78. (a) Read: "The diphthongs of class (c), ending in e, do not occur (v. ¶¶ 17, 81, 82)."

¶ 81, end. Read: "nor has it the allophone e."

¶ 167. Delete: /d̥/, /ɡ̃/, & read references with /d̥/, /ɡ̃/.

Delete: Summary, under War., ref. 74.

¶ 193. (a) Note 2. Read: "See ¶ 30. In Sul., War. the 2.Sg. form frequently appears as -t̥ in postvocalic, and -i in post-consonantal position (v. ¶ 31). .."

¶ 317. (i) Read: "... the allophone /ɡ̃/ .... It shares the allophones /d̥, t̥/ with Sul. only (¶¶ 31, 32). .."

(ii) Read: "... diphthongs of class (c) (¶ 13 ff.), .."